

Why money? To provide the determined Afghan rebels and their friends in Afghan villages with the wherewithal to buy food, clothing and other basic necessities. It's the CIA's way of combating the Soviet's "depopulation strategy," which seeks to murder or drive out any Afghan who doesn't support Russia's puppet regime.

**THE ESTIMATED** population of Afghanistan when the Soviets invaded at Christmastime 1979 was 15 million. Fully a third of that number no longer live in the country. One million have been killed in the fighting; most of the rest are in burgeoning refugee camps along the Afghan border in western Pakistan.

The Russian strategy has been obvious to the Afghan mujaheddin. Villages they cannot control and those whose residents are suspected of aiding the rebels are brutalized. Crops are destroyed, suspected mujaheddin informants are tortured and executed. Sometimes the Soviets resort to indiscriminately strafing such villages from helicopter gunships. And, too often, Soviet troops have marched in and massacred every man, woman and child in the village.

Meanwhile, areas the Soviets control are made livable. Markets for food and other goods thrive there. Russians even help cultivate the crops. It is in these areas that the CIA's counterfeit money has been put to good use.

"We are using the Russians' own supply system against them," gloated one CIA source. "We don't just provide this money to buy food for the rebels and 'friendly' from these approved markets—we also encourage the mujaheddin to use the Afghan money to corrupt the Soviet soldiers. Buy ammunition from them. Buy clothing and food from Soviet quartermasters. Get the money circulating."

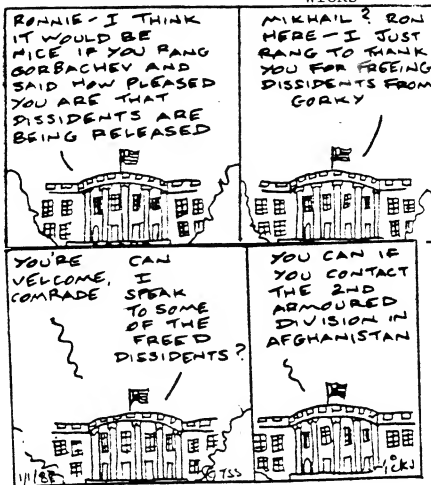
**THE MUJAHEDDIN** have been delighted with the program. As usual, though, a fair amount of graft goes on when the CIA's bogus bills arrive in Pakistan. Since not even the Afghans themselves can tell the difference, these bills are sold for their full value in Peshawar and Quetta, the two gateway cities used by the mujaheddin as headquarters for strikes inside nearby Afghanistan.

Another source familiar with the program said that CIA analysts realized that if the Soviets succeeded in making areas friendly to the mujaheddin inhospitable, the rebels would eventually lay down their arms. "If a teenage guerrilla has no cousin left in Afghanistan, no home where he used to live, nothing to fight for—he might not fight," this source observed.

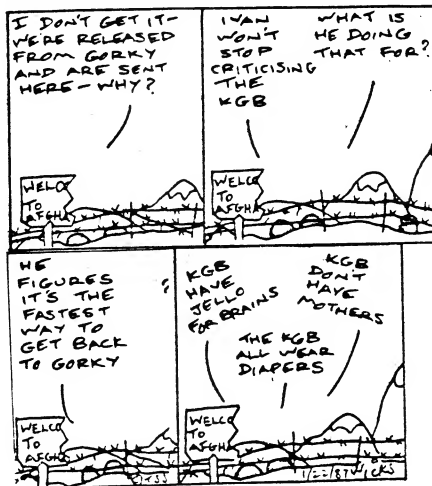
That's why, he added, the Soviets have been "strafing fields at planting time, planting a few mines in other fields and leaving toys for children that blow up when they're picked up."

And so the caravans of cash continue to make the long journey through forbidding mountain passes into the villages, as much a weapon in this war as those loaded up with arms and ammunition.

## THE OUTCASTS



## THE OUTCASTS



## alphabets created

The Academy of Sciences of the DRA has created standard alphabets for Mooriastani, Pashai and Baluchi languages. A spokesman of the academy said that the work is based on the party

and state policy to develop the languages and literature of the different nationalities.

Problems of compiling text-books and scientific works in the said languages will be solved later.

## By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan, April 27 — The Government, celebrating the ninth anniversary of Communist control, acknowledged today that it had failed to achieve a cease-fire in the Afghan civil war.

The Government also accused the United States and Pakistan of forcibly preventing the return of millions of refugees from camps in Pakistan, using what diplomats said was unusually harsh language.

"The enemies of our country want to stop our progress," said the Afghan Defense Minister, Lieut. Gen. Mohammed Rafie, accusing Washington of "intervention in the internal affairs of Afghanistan."

The anniversary celebration featured a parade of weapons, troops, floats and tens of thousands of marchers. Thousands more lined the route, and in the reviewing stand were numerous dignitaries and officials, including representatives of the Soviet Union.

The parade began with goose-stepping battalions from all branches of the armed forces, including a battalion of women. Soviet-built helicopters and jets flew overhead. But diplomats said the military display was smaller than the one last year, apparently in keeping with the theme of national reconciliation.

In fact, reconciliation was the dominant theme, with much of the parade and the city decorated with a new flag depicting two clasped hands and calling for peace. Several floats in the parade were in the shape of giant doves, some with school children in white shouting "we want peace."

Not all the displays were conciliatory, however. One group of marchers carried sinister-looking, oversized figures wearing black capes and stovepipe hats decorated in the Stars and Stripes, wielding whips and forcing children to march under the weight of chains. At one point they dragged an American flag on the ground. The audience applauded mildly as they marched by.

The anniversary observance was filled with assurances from the Government that the ruling People's Democratic Party commanded the support of everyone except a small, misguided element carrying out criminal acts with funds from the United States.

Afghan officials continue to maintain that they are not initiating attacks against the rebels and are only fighting back when fired upon. But Western diplomats asserted that Soviet troops are

carrying out major operations in several parts of the country, including one attempt to "depopulate" the northern border area with extensive air strikes.

## Fighting at a High Level

The Afghan leader, Najib, declared on Jan. 15 that Government troops would stop shooting and asked the rebels to do the same. But by all accounts the fighting has remained at a high level in the last three months. If anything, diplomats said, the rebels have sought to step up their attacks.

Western diplomats said fighting was taking place in Logar Province south of Kabul and in the cities of Kandahar in the south and Herat in the east, near the Iran border. In addition, Soviet press reports have made what diplomats consider to be an unusual admission that Afghan rebels attacked across the Soviet border in the north, killing two border guards.

Despite the anti-American tenor of the celebration today, diplomats said they were struck by the relatively mild tone taken toward the Afghan rebels, who have been fighting the Afghan Government since the coup of April 27, 1978. The Soviet Union sent thousands of troops into Afghanistan at the end of 1979, saying the Kabul Government had asked for help in fighting the insurgents. As the Soviet troops moved into the country, a three-month-old Afghan Government was overthrown.

In the past the rebels were denounced as "bandits" and "counter-revolutionaries" but since the proclamation of the cease-fire the rebels have officially been described as "misguided brothers" who have been invited to share power with the Government. How much power is one of the central issues in dispute at intermittent peace talks in Geneva.

## American Journalists Invited

For the first time since the Soviet Union sent troops into Afghanistan, the Government invited American journalists to observe the anniversary of the military coup that brought the Communists to power. Since then there have been four different Communist regimes, with the current one under Mr. Najib taking over only last May.

It was at the last celebration of the April Revolution, as the coup is called here, that the President at the time, Babrak Karmal, failed to appear, stating rumors — later proven accurate — that he was on his way out.

In the last year Moscow has been looking for a negotiated peace and to withdraw its troops. In the Geneva negotiations, the Soviet Union has offered to withdraw its troops, now estimated to number 120,000, within 18 months if the United States and Pakistan immediately ended their assistance to the Afghan rebels. The covert American aid is said to amount to several hundred million dollars a year.

The United States and Pakistan re-

jected the offer, demanding a seven-month timetable for a Soviet withdrawal.

## Refugees Ignore Appeal

In his appeal in January, Mr. Najib asked the estimated 250,000 Afghan rebels — most of them fighting only intermittently or in reserve — to lay down their arms. He also called on Afghan refugees in neighboring countries to return home. The Kabul Government estimates the number of refugees at two million; the United States puts the number at nearly five million — nearly a third of the Afghan.

According to Government figures released this week, only 44,000 refugees have returned home. Western diplomats said this number was exaggerated but an Asian diplomat said it sounded plausible because it was so small.

In addition the Government asserts that 21,000 guerrillas have joined the Government and another 100,000 are "in negotiations" to join, and that 5,500 prisoners have been released. Western diplomats and rebel leaders in Pakistan say these figures are highly inflated. NYT 4/28

## By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

HERAT, Afghanistan, May 5 — . . .

Lying on a scrubby plain less than 60 miles from the borders of Iran and the Soviet Union, Herat, a city of about 150,000, has become a major outpost in the war between the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul and the insurgents.

Western diplomats and guerrilla leaders say the combat in and around Herat has been intense for several years, with control of the city swinging back and forth between the guerrillas and the Government. A State Department report several months ago said, "Destruction may have been worse in Herat than in any other city" in Afghanistan.

But a visit to the city's main bazaar and other areas on Monday and today showed damage to have been either minimal or repaired. Residents interviewed at random said that fighting in the city had subsided in the last year or two but that it was stronger in the surrounding countryside. . . .

Last weekend, for example, an experienced diplomat in Kabul said he had heard a rumor that the main mosque in Herat had recently been destroyed in fighting, and he asked a journalist to find out if it was true.

The mosque, a towering monument of intricate mosaic and stonework in the center of town, is largely intact now except for some damage to an archway from a guerrilla rocket that struck it in November 1985.

Soviet and Afghan forces have apparently shifted tactics since January, when they called for a cease-fire and offered incentives to the insurgents to lay down their arms and to millions of refugees to return home.

That the cease-fire failed can be seen and heard here as distant gunfire thunders day and night. But the goal of establishing secure zones and offering benefits to defectors was everywhere in evidence. . . .

Even if 40,000 refugees have returned, Western diplomats say, this is less than 1 percent of the five million Afghans believed to have fled. Afghanistan's prewar population was about 15 million.

The Government also maintains that it has "freed" 1,600 of Afghanistan's 38,000 villages by establishing special reconciliation commissions that invite returnees and guerrillas to join the Government side.

NYT 5/6

## Los Angeles Times



### By Rone Tempest

HERAT: Soviet army artillery thundered in the distant hills, near the border with Iran. But the Shia Moslems of this ancient city in the northwest corner of Afghanistan gathered for evening prayers, as they have for more than a thousand years, in the majestic Masjid-I-Jami Mosque.

Not far away, the main market in the old city throbbed with activity as shoppers bought rharbub, lamb, rice and raisins for the evening meal.

It was the fifth day of the Ramadan fast, a period during which the Moslem faithful are prohibited from eating or drinking anything in daylight hours.

Out in the countryside, the seven-year war that pits Soviet and Afghan government forces against Mujahideen rebels continues unabated.

But people in Herat and Kabul — Western reporters were permitted to visit both this week — say the fighting is much diminished, particularly in the past six months.

Soviet strategy is to secure and pacify the two cities by throwing up "ring of steel" defences around them. The strategy appears to be working, though at a huge cost in terms of men and material.

The defensive effort appears to be borne largely by the estimated 115,000 Soviet troops in this country, not the Afghan Army. In Herat, Soviet troops were seen

this week guarding key bridges and the 16 kilometres of road from the airport with T-62 tanks.

On Tuesday morning, reporters saw two large Soviet supply convoys, each of more than 100 big tractor-trailer lorries, moving into Herat on the road from Qandahar, a major city 320 km southeast of Herat. As at Kabul, the capital, the Herat airport was busy with Soviet and Afghan cargo aircraft.

In Kabul, the Soviet perimeter defences are less obvious than in Herat. But tanks are visible on the roads outside. The nearby resort town of Paghman, once the scene of fierce fighting, appears to have been pacified, many of the villas that once graced the town are in ruins.

Damage to Herat and the war's overall impact on the city appeared to be much less than Western diplomats have indicated in reports based on information gathered in Kabul and on information supplied by refugees in Pakistan.

Reporters found that all the important monuments were still standing and mostly intact. Although they were not permitted to inspect the Musallah Minarets, which date to the early 15th century, they could see from a distance that all six were standing.

For the past year, Mujahideen commanders operating out of Peshawar, across the frontier in Pakistan, have complained that the Soviet defensive rings of armour and artillery have blunted their efforts — among them Abdul Haq, a commander known for his operations in the Kabul area.

Before the war, nearly 80 percent of Afghanistan's 15 million people lived in rural areas. But in the seven years since the war began, about 3 million have fled to neighbouring Pakistan and Iran, emptying great areas of the countryside. Others have taken refuge in the cities.

If the Soviet and Afghan government forces can maintain control of the cities, Western diplomats say, they can control as much as 50 percent of the population, though as little as 15 percent of the land.

### Situation 'normal'

Mohammad Khalil Sepoy, secretary of the Herat Provincial Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, the Soviet-backed ruling party, told the reporters:

"The situation is normal in Herat. We still have some problems with regard to security. Sometimes, opposing groups... loot the people. But most of the time, nothing happens, especially in Herat itself."

Mr Sepoy, who like an increasing number of Afghan party officials was educated in the Soviet Union and speaks fluent Russian, cited as signs of a return to normalcy the repairs being made to the city's streets and the recent completion of a 200-bed hospital.

The hospital has been supplied with Soviet medicines and equipment. A senior official there, Dr Fraidoun Ashk, said the number of war-related patients had fallen off sharply, from about five a day two years ago to 10 a week.

He confirmed that the hospital had been damaged in February by a rebel mortar

attack. Western diplomatic sources had reported this weeks earlier.

Dr Ashk said the attack was unusual, and "from far away." He said a hospital medical technician was killed. Windows in one wing, shattered by the mortar fire, were still out on Tuesday when three American reporters called at the hospital.

Several patients said they had been wounded in villages far away. Gous Ahmed, a boy of 12, said he and a group of companions were playing on the roof of his home when they were caught in crossfire between rebels and government forces. One boy was killed, Ahmed said, he himself was wounded in the thigh.

Party workers assigned to escort the reporters through Herat sought to limit their questioning of patients and, in general, to rule out any reference to the war.

As for the artillery booming throughout the day and night, they either pretended they did not hear it or described it as thunder or "soldiers practising."

At the Masjid-I-Jami Mosque, which was once the centre of Islamic scholarship, scaffolding has been put up on one side in order to repair damage caused by a rocket attack in November 1985. Fourteen people were killed in the attack.

Haji Abdullah, custodian of the mosque, said there have been no attacks since. On only one occasion, he said, has he seen rebels of the Mujahideen, and they had come to pray.

HK Standard 5/7 (LA Times 5/6)

## THE NEW YORK TIMES

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

KHOSH Afghanistan, May 7 — The Afghan Government brought foreign journalists to this embattled eastern border area today to see the wreckage of a transport plane said to be carrying women, children and other civilians when it was downed by an American-made rocket last February.

In an unusually elaborate public relations effort, the Government also brought charts, displays and witnesses to try to prove that the United States had recently widened the war in Afghanistan by introducing sophisticated weapons that were killing both civilians and soldiers.

Brig. Gop. Gulam Faruk of the Afghan Army, standing near the plane wreckage, said that despite the plane's military camouflage markings, "in fact it was not a military plane but a normal passenger plane with 36 civilians, including children, all of them now dead."

Two AN-26 military transport planes have been shot down here recently, one on Feb. 9 by a surface-to-air rocket and another on March 30 by a rocket fired by a Pakistani F-16 jet.

Western diplomats contend that the planes were carrying military personnel and cargo, although some concede that the planes may well have been carrying civilians who had no other

means of getting through the area because of the fighting.

Three dozen foreign journalists, most of whom flew in from Moscow on Wednesday, traveled on a drizzly day through muddy fields and past ox carts and rice paddies on a schedule that was tightly controlled, in part because this region is said to be one of the least secure areas in Afghanistan.

Nevertheless the visit provided an unusual glimpse into the hardships of the seven-year-old war between the Soviet-backed regime in Kabul and the Afghan rebels.

Although military authorities said repeatedly that the Government was in control of the entire province of Paktia, which contains important supply routes from Pakistan for the Afghan rebels, there were many signs to the contrary.

The military cargo planes carrying the journalists, which were the same model as those shot down recently, spewed orange flares as they came in and out of the area. They also took off in a swift spiral that, along with the flares, was intended to evade heat-seeking missiles launched by the rebels.

As the journalists were carried to the town of Khost and to the crash site, helicopters flew in circular patterns overhead, apparently patrolling for guerrillas. At least two loud bursts were heard near the airstrip, apparently from rockets or mortars.

"Don't worry, it is just dust from the wind," said an Afghan official, smiling nervously when asked about the puffs of smoke 300 yards away.

#### Rebels Ejected, Afghans Say

Inside the town of Khost, which officials said had a population of 80,000, reporters were given a briefing emphasizing that the Afghan guerrillas had been run out of the surrounding areas.

But later a member of the kitchen staff told a reporter that on the contrary the rebels had controlled many nearby areas and that there were constant attacks from rockets and mortars. At this point an Afghan official came up and ordered the man away.

"He is an illiterate old man who does not know anything anything," the official said brusquely.

The visit today appeared to reflect the nervousness of Afghanistan over the mounting warfare in the border region. Air attacks have picked up in the last two years, and now Pakistan charges that there are daily incursions inside its territory, including aerial bombardment that has killed 300 civilians since January.

But today the Afghan authorities maintained that it was Pakistan that was sending its planes into Afghan territory, provoking the skirmishing. Military officials asserted there had been 20 such violations since the beginning of the year.

"They are lying," General Faruk said, referring to the Pakistani claims

of Afghan bombardments. Asked if any Afghan planes may have violated Pakistani air space, he said, "Maybe they have crossed the border, but they have never bombed Pakistani territory." NYT 5/8

## Los Angeles Times

By RONE TEMPEST

**QARGAH, Afghanistan**—This has to be one of the world's toughest little golf courses, a testing nine-hole 10 miles outside the Afghan capital of Kabul, where a golfer can never be sure if his best shot is with a 9 iron or a Kalashnikov assault rifle.

Afghan armored troop carriers are allowed to play through and often do, taking a shortcut to the battlefields to confront *moujahedeen* guerrillas fighting the Soviet-backed government.

The concrete clubhouse was destroyed by a Soviet tank.

The ninth green—or "brown" as they are called here because they are made of sand mixed with oil—is nestled under an Afghan artillery battery that occasionally booms rounds into the nearby Paghman range of the snow-capped Hindu Kush mountains.

Given the unusual hazards, it was a little surprising on a recent morning to find the rocky course

below the Qargah Lake Dam teeming with enthusiastic golfers, as well as assorted strollers, picnickers and vendors selling German beer, Coca-Cola and Russian cigarettes, all acting as though they were on the back nine of the Augusta National.

Only instead of Arnie's Army they had the Afghan army, occasionally peering down at them from artillery positions through tripod-mounted field glasses.

Almost all were diplomats and aid workers taking advantage of the one morning each week when the government allows them out of the city into the stunningly beautiful, if dangerous, Afghan countryside.

For more than seven years, Afghanistan has been embroiled in a bloody war between government and Soviet troops on one side and the *moujahedeen* rebels on the other. Often the war has touched the fringes of the Afghan capital. Until two years ago, when government forces gained the upper hand, the Paghman Valley north of Qargah was the arena of some of the war's fiercest fighting, which left the once beautiful resort town of Paghman in ruins.

Four years ago, a Japanese diplomat on his way to play a round of golf took a wrong turn and was kidnapped by *moujahedeen* rebels. They confiscated the befuddled diplomat's car for use against Afghan and Soviet troops and escorted him more than 100 miles east into Pakistan, where he was finally released in Peshawar.

A U.N. Development Program worker stopped going to the golf course after she was caught in a cross-fire between rebels and government troops, "bullets whizzing



NYT 5/8

Tass via Associated Press

The wreckage of an Afghan transport plane, shot down in February, in Khost, Afghanistan.

over my head."

Still, many foreigners in the war-weary Afghan capital feel that the risks are worth taking, if only for a breath of clean air and a stroll among the white poplars and pines that rim the shores of Qargah Lake.

"Kabul is like a prison," explained a Polish aid worker out walking his basset hound. "Coming out here is like a day out of prison."

"That looks like a gentle iron to me," said Ian Mackley, the British charge d'affaires in Kabul and a regular at the Qargah course. "But watch out for the snake pit."

The "snake pit" on the No. 1 hole, a gentle dogleg toward an artillery position, is an inexplicable man-made depression with steep stone walls. Although no one has ever reported seeing snakes there, the hole looks like a place where an ancient and cruel Afghan king might have dropped a *ferenghi* (foreigner) for a bit of torture.

Soon after Mackley spoke, his playing companion snaked his 6-iron shot into the snake pit.

"Bloody frustrating," he cursed as Mackley, who was two holes up, with two holes to play, smiled in anticipation of victory.

Many of the assorted diplomats who come to Qargah every Friday morning, even blasting sand wedges through snowdrifts on the coldest days, are here for more than just a game of golf. After all, Afghanistan is the home of the "Great Game," as Rudyard Kipling described the intrigue and espionage between Imperial Russia and the British Raj. So many of the diplomats, frustrated by their wartime isolation in the capital, come out here to listen for the sounds of war and report their findings to their home countries.

Two years ago, when a nearby ammunition dump was blown up by the rebels, a record number of diplomats drove out to the lake. Some feigned a round of golf while they observed the explosions. A carload of Chinese diplomats, however, not knowing the difference between a 4 wood and a niblick, quietly went to the edge of the lake and started fishing.

But the rocky defiles of the Afghanistan mountains often play tricks with noise, and a loud boom may not always be what it seems.

"One time I heard what I thought was steady mortaring," said one diplomatic regular on the course. "But when I came to the next hole I discovered it was just a man chopping down a tree. One has to be careful."

May 10

## THE WASHINGTON POST

By Richard M. Weintraub

Washington Post Foreign Service

KABUL, Afghanistan—"How sweet the air was, how clear the sky," said the middle-aged Russian, recalling his first days in the cool, 6,000-foot high Afghan capital.

One of an estimated 9,000 Soviet civilians working in Afghanistan, his was a romantic's view of Moscow's venture into the turbulent world of Afghanistan, where more than one civilization has come to make its imprint only to be thrown out by the Afghans or another contending power.

Other Russians, he indicated, have been less enchanted with the Third World character of this city that sprawls around the jagged hills that bisect it and reaches out to touch snow-tipped 15,000-foot mountains on its periphery.

"Some adjust, some don't," he said during a casual conversation. "They find it difficult with all the dirt, the animals in the streets. The bachelors especially find it difficult. It is hard for them to take care of themselves—the shopping, the laundry, the isolation. There are no diversions, no restaurants, no recreation."

With dependents included, the number of Soviet citizens in the Afghan capital could reach 20,000 or more, according to diplomatic and Afghan observers, but no one seems certain of the exact number.

They live in an environment that is rich in its natural beauty but harsh in its backwardness and occasional hostility.

While Russians do not talk of it, the presence of armed Soviet patrols in the shopping district frequented by Soviet civilians underscores reports of occasional attacks on them by hostile Afghans. No Russians were seen in the narrow, dark lanes of the traditional bazaars during a two-week stay in the Afghan capital.

Yet, the Soviet presence is not a totally isolated one.

In the city's three Soviet-style housing projects, families stroll along sidewalks and shop for vegetables, clothing and other goods in roadside markets.

The compounds are not walled Soviets-only enclosures, but are five-story apartment blocks where Afghan and Soviet families live close together, their children playing together in the playgrounds. Numerous armed guards are present, however, and cars coming into the area are checked for bombs and weapons.

Afghan officials said any Afghan citizen can get an apartment in the projects, with priority going to war victims, but others suggested that they go most often to party or government officials.

Some of the units are privately owned, and one Soviet reported paying 25,000 afghanis for his five-room apartment. The afghani is valued at 55 to the dollar on the official exchange but gets three times that on the legal, open market.

That same bustling market mentality brings the Russians caviar and vodka cheaper than in Moscow and the latest in western-style jeans, stereos and electronic goods from Taiwan and Japan. But Kabul's merchants are not enthralled at having the Russians as their most numerous customers.

"Oh, they are very tight with their money," said one merchant. "We say 350 for something and they will say 150, so we always say twice as much as usual and then pretend we are giving them a bargain."

On Chicken Street, where many of Kabul's jewelry and antique stores are located, the merchants said few Soviet Bloc buyers are interested in Afghanistan's deep blue lapis lazuli.

"They go for the cut-glass stuff from India or the imitation pearl from Japan," one merchant said in German.

For items not available on the open market, the Soviet Embassy maintains a small commissary that sells items like fish, gherkins and black bread that are essential in the Russian diet, according to one Russian. The embassy also has a movie theater and a swimming pool. The embassy school runs only to the eighth grade, presenting problems for families with older children.

According to one Russian, people with dependents are not assigned outside of Kabul because of lack of utilities and danger from bandits.

"There are real bandits," he said, he said alluding to the Soviet cus-

tom of calling antigovernment rebels bandits. "They were here before we came."

While there are occasional glimpses of Soviet civilian life, there is almost no opportunity to see Soviet military life in Afghanistan. Few Soviet soldiers are seen in town and western diplomats noted that this is not necessarily out of fear of reprisals or even of the usual soldier-civilian clashes.

"The Red Army isn't like the usual western army," one diplomat said. "The Soviet soldier spends his life in his camp. If he wants a beer, he goes to the camp canteen, not to town."

Western concentration on the Soviet military role and on subjects like allegations of drug abuse by Soviet soldiers often angers Soviet officials working here.

"Western reporters just seem to want to come in behind 'the Iron Curtain' to write about Russian tanks and helicopters, not to give the true picture," one Russian said.

5/13

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By Richard M. Weintraub  
Washington Post Foreign Service

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KABUL, Afghanistan—The Soviet Union is establishing a vast network of trade, aid and cultural relations with Afghanistan that is more elaborate than its military presence and seems intended to endure even if some or all of the Soviet soldiers are brought home.

Afghan Prime Minister Sultan Ali Keshitmand recently put the Soviet financial contribution at 40 percent of Afghanistan's civilian budget. Other experts estimated Moscow now spends more than \$300 million a year here to provide many day-to-day needs, not counting military assistance or support costs for the 9,000 Soviet civilian advisers. The Soviets are also seeking to inculcate future loyalties by developing a core of Russian-speaking Afghans, including thousands of youngsters educated in Soviet schools.

It is a far cry from those early days of the "great game" of the late 19th and early 20th century when British and Russian agents vied for influence with the rulers in Kabul as part of the struggle over this mountainous passageway to the riches of India and the warm waters of the Indian Ocean.

Today, giant Ilyushin-76s fly in and out of Kabul's American-built airport daily and huge convoys of Soviet trucks make their way south from railheads at the Soviet-Afghan frontier, overcoming the natural barrier formed by the Hindu Kush mountains that thwarted foreign conquerors in the past.

Much of this traffic is to support the estimated 115,000 to 120,000 Soviet troops arrayed against Afghan guerrilla forces battling to oust them and the Af-

ghan government they support in Kabul. Some of the Soviet presence also undoubtedly is to back an apparently elaborate political and security infrastructure, including Soviets seen in Afghan leader Najibullah's personal bodyguard at the recent parade.

But much of the Soviet activity is devoted to more than the military or political conflicts, as witnessed by three American journalists recently allowed a rare two-week visit to see the changes made in Afghanistan since the People's Democratic Party seized power nine years ago.

Where thousands of West German and American aid workers once sat in the 1960s and 1970s, a more extensive network of Soviet technicians now offers counsel in a parallel administration at almost every government ministry, according to well-informed diplomats.

According to one diplomat, Swiss experts in Afghanistan to install a new power-generating system said their Afghan counterparts would carefully take notes at each planning session but offer no comments, apparently to gain time for consultation with Soviet advisers later.

At American-built Kabul University, there are 50 professors from the Soviet Union and another dozen from East Germany.

In the library, the works of Lenin sit alongside 1950s texts on American local government.

Russian language instruction, started only after the 1978 revolution, now attracts 30 percent of the students, although 60 percent still take English.

In the future, this percentage could change as thousands of youngsters being educated in the Soviet Union return home. One diplomat reports an estimated 15,000 young Afghans between the ages of 7 and 20 at any given time are receiving between two and five years of Soviet education. Allowing for turnover, the total number now is put at between 20,000 and 25,000.

In the northern part of Afghanistan, which borders the sensitive Soviet Moslem republics, diplomats have observed particularly intensive activity, leading to speculation that the Kremlin may be placing

itself in the position of ensuring long-term influence in that region whether it remains part of Afghanistan or ultimately is absorbed into the Soviet Union.

Of 20 separate series of economic agreements signed between Afghanistan and the Soviet Union this year, more than half involved projects in the northern provinces and some even were agreements between an Afghan province and its neighboring Soviet republic.

These projects include everything from footwear factories and wool-processing plants to power lines and the expansion and equipping of the state printing press. There are exchanges of medical personnel and journalists, direct provision of poultry and dairy products and a Soviet project to develop the Yateemaqtas gas fields.

The Soviet Union already takes almost all of Afghanistan's natural gas with fields tied directly into the Soviet pipeline network, according to diplomats. Soviet imports of Afghan goods last year were valued at \$382 million by Afghan officials, almost three-fourths of all exported Afghan goods.

These economic ties are supplemented by an array of visits by Soviet Uzbeks, Turkmans and other officials and clergy from its central Asian republics.

With at least a third of Afghanistan's population in exile, and many others in rural areas or still opposed to the current government, Soviet influence remains circumscribed to a limited part of Afghan society.

While some western observers here talk of Soviet "colonization" of Afghanistan, others note that "you can't colonize a place you don't control, and the Soviets don't control Afghanistan."

They also note occasionally candid expressions of frustration at dealing with an inexperienced, unstable Afghan government.

"It's all Middle Ages," one Eastern European was quoted as saying in a unguarded moment. "We just sink money in."

There are Afghans who mirror those sentiments, saying the Russians have done nothing but create "a filthy, bloody mess of our country." Washington Post 5/13

By RONE TEMPEST

HERAT, Afghanistan—On the tarmac of the civilian airport here recently a Soviet aircraft was being loaded with an unusual cargo.

As blond Russian airmen stood guard with AK-47 assault rifles, a ragged bunch of Afghan peasants, mostly Hazara tribesmen from the mountainous heartland of this Texas-size country, were climbing into a four-engined Soviet Antonov 12 cargo plane.

It was obvious that most of the Hazaras had never been on an airplane before. Some backed up the loading ramp reluctantly, like goats on a tether. To the frustration of the Soviet flight crew, no sooner would one Hazara board than another would walk off. Most carried bulky bundles containing cloth, tea, Persian carpets, sacks of sugar and bread.

The Hazaras were Afghan refugees returning from neighboring Iran, where they had fled after the Soviet military invasion of their country in 1979. They, and a few thousand others here, were attracted home by an Afghan government program of "reconciliation" announced four months ago in an attempt to lure back the estimated 4 million refugees in Iran and Pakistan with offers of land, jobs and a political role in a "government of reconciliation."

The proposed new government would ostensibly have a place for refugee leaders, including *moujahedeen* guerrillas who have been battling Afghan and Soviet troops here for seven years. That a Soviet cargo plane had been flown 400 miles here from Kabul for this bedraggled bunch of peasants was an indication of just how much the Soviets want the reconciliation plan to work and how far they are willing to go to help it.

The return of the refugees is seen as the first stage of a peace process that would theoretically end with the withdrawal of the more than 100,000 Soviet troops still in Afghanistan.

By most indications here and abroad, including informal interviews with Soviet civilians, the Soviets sincerely want out of Afghanistan. Soviet leader Mikhail S. Gorbachev set the tone, describing his country's predicament in Afghanistan as a "bleeding wound." To some extent, Western diplomats say, Gorbachev has tied his own

credibility to a successful departure from Afghanistan.

But as the United States discovered 15 years ago in Vietnam, getting out is more difficult than getting in.

#### Obstacles to Soviet Pullout

"It is quite clear that the Soviet Union would like to withdraw," British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher told Parliament on April 2, after meeting with Gorbachev in Moscow. "It is also clear that it does not know quite how to go about it or what to do."

Despite clear progress at U.N.-sponsored peace negotiations—both sides are reportedly only 11 months apart on the time needed to withdraw Soviet forces—there are many factors here working against an early Soviet disengagement.

"I am much more pessimistic about a settlement than I was when I first came here two years ago," said a senior diplomat here who has contacts within the government of Najib, the general secretary of the ruling People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan.

The main hurdles include the extremely poor results of the "reconciliation" program announced by Najib; disunity and factionalism within the Soviet-backed regime; continuing ineffectiveness of the regime's own military forces; increasing dependence on Soviet technical aid, and the development of a large class of government workers and party members whose lives would be in jeopardy with any radical change in the Afghan political structure.

Another key factor is the continuing solidarity of a United States-led alliance with Pakistan in support of the Afghan rebels based in Pakistan. This support was emphasized by recent congressional approval of an expanded covert military aid program to the rebels, at more than \$400 million a year the largest such U.S. operation since the Vietnam War.

Finally, there is the inertia generated by the large Soviet military contingent and technical advisory staff, whose morale and interest in the first direct Soviet military campaign since World War II appears to be building.

#### 'Net Flow Outward'

Even by the Afghan government's own reckoning, the ambitious "national reconciliation" program announced by Najib in

January is not working. In a press conference in Kabul this month, Afghan Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil announced that only 44,000 refugees have returned.

By conservative estimates, this number is no more than 2% of the refugee population. Also, there is some indication that in the four months since the reconciliation program was announced, more people have left Afghanistan as new refugees than have come back in.

"I think the net flow is still outward," said one Western diplomat in Kabul, the Afghan capital.

Wakil also said that 21,000 of those who have returned were former *moujahedeen* rebels. However, during a recent two-week visit by several Western journalists, the government did not produce a single former *moujahedeen* who had come back after the reconciliation offer was made.

In the village of Cheld-Dukhtran about 15 miles south of Kabul, the reporters met with an Afghan army deserter named Mir Hasan, 35, who claimed to have come back because he was "homesick." But Hasan said he had worked as a bricklayer in Pakistan during his time as a refugee and had nothing to do with a rebel group.

Later, a government guide provided to the journalists admitted that the same man had been presented to a previous group of visiting journalists.

Other returning refugees were interviewed at the Herat airport and in a hotel set aside for returnees in the city itself. However, the



Afghan army deserter Mir Hasan as he met with reporters.

RONE TEMPEST / Los Angeles Times

reasons given by most of them for returning appeared to be more economic than political.

Iran, where most of the Herat returnees had been living, was a tough place for Afghans. They said they were discriminated against in wages and pursued by authorities for induction into the Iranian army to fight in that country's war with Iraq.

"Tehran was a kind of life where you barely eat and you don't die," said Barat Ali, 23, who said he had been a refugee in the Iranian capital for six years. "Everyone was bored and hungry."

Ali said he would return to his parents' home in Kabul and then enlist in the Afghan army.

Since it took power here in a 1978 coup, the ruling People's Democratic Party has never been a stable, united entity.

The party claims to be a "national democratic party," but organizationally it mirrors the Soviet Communist Party, even to the extent that its Politburo meets Thursday as its Soviet counterpart does. It is composed of two main factions, the Khalq (Masses) and the Parcham (Flag) which, since a temporary truce in 1977, have never resolved their differences.

There are also loyalties built around the personalities of leaders in both factions. It was the chaos that resulted from internal divisions in 1979 that led the Soviet Union to intervene militarily and install a Parcham leader, Babrak Karmal, to replace the two previous Khalq leaders, both of whom had been assassinated.

A year ago in May, Karmal was himself replaced by Najib, 40, a medical doctor and major general in the army who had previously headed the Afghan secret police agency. Najib, who is built like a football linebacker, was apparently chosen because he is a Pushtun, like most of the population of Afghanistan living on the critical border with Pakistan. Most of the refugees and the majority of the mujahadeen are also Pushtun.

However, Western diplomatic sources in Kabul now believe that Najib is in political difficulty after the early failure of his reconciliation program. In addition, some elements of the Parcham faction remained loyal to Karmal, 56, who, stripped of his last party title in November, remained under virtual house arrest in Kabul.

With Karmal and his followers around, Najib was unable to call a party conference, or plenum. This month, the problem was at least temporarily solved when Karmal, for what the government announced were health reasons, was removed to the Soviet Union.

Opinion varies in Kabul about Najib's standing within the party and with his Soviet advisers. However, it is apparent that he, like Karmal, has been unable to unify the party.

In the end, the instability of the ruling party could be the biggest impediment in obtaining a negotiated settlement to the Afghan conflict.

At a press conference in New Delhi last November, Gorbachev stressed that the Soviet Union stood for a "nonaligned, independent, sovereign Afghanistan." He said the Soviet Union had worked with Afghan monarchies and pre-revolutionary governments.

"What kind of regime will be there is up to the Afghan people," he said.

However, few Afghan political observers feel that the Soviet Union, after seven years of fighting in which thousands of Soviet soldiers had died, would be willing to cede power to any government that even had the potential of being hostile to Soviet interests.

One distant possibility for a political solution in Afghanistan, and the one most often rumored in Kabul bazaars, is the return of former King Mohammed Zahir Shah to power. Zahir, 74, who has lived in exile in Rome since he was ousted in a coup in 1973, has said he is willing.

"Any reconciliation can materialize only in the framework of a political solution that is acceptable to the Afghan nation and guarantees their legitimate rights," the former monarch told an interviewer from Der Spiegel, the West German news magazine. "On those terms I am ready to serve my country without any conditions."

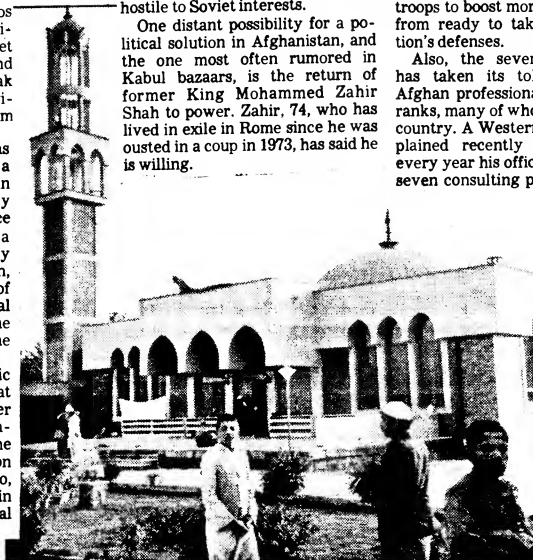
However, the aging king faces opposition not only from the leftist government but also from the largest and most powerful of the several mujahadeen groups, the fundamentalist and fiercely anti-royalist Islamic Party under the leadership of engineer Gulbuddin Hekmatyar.

The refugee situation and the political atmosphere are the biggest blocks to a political settlement here but they are not the only ones.

Although the Afghan government claims to have 500,000 men and women under arms, the true army strength is estimated by observers at only about 40,000, and all key military operations and defense are still managed by Soviet troops.

In Herat, for example, the entire defensive ring around the city is Soviet-manned. Even the bridges leading into town are guarded by Soviet troops. Despite a 30% pay increase recently given the Afghan troops to boost morale, they are far from ready to take over the nation's defenses.

Also, the seven-year-old war has taken its toll on the thin Afghan professional and technical ranks, many of whom have fled the country. A Western diplomat complained recently in Kabul that every year his office makes a list of seven consulting physicians in the



ROME TEMPEST / Los Angeles Times

Mosque in Kabul built by Soviets to win Muslim support.



Afghan community. "And every year three or four are gone to Pakistan," he said.

Even the tiny state-run Bakhtar Airlines is forced to employ Soviet pilots, paying them more than 10 times what it pays Afghan crews.

"We used to have 45 Afghan pilots; now we have only eight," said one remaining, American-trained pilot. "The others left to fly in other countries."

So proud, remote Afghanistan, for most of its history the very symbol of obscurity until it was thrust into the limelight by the Soviet invasion of December, 1979, finds itself sapped of energy and brainpower, less able than ever before to stand on its own.

And the seven-year Soviet occupation has created a class of people that the rebels see as collaborators. These are government employees, soldiers and police—people who, whatever their feelings about the ruling party and its Soviet sponsors, would likely be branded as traitors and killed if the Soviet forces ever withdrew.

Already, one rebel commander in Peshawar, Pakistan, where most of the rebel groups keep their headquarters, has said that 30,000 throats would be slit if the Russians ever leave.

This is a group that the Soviets cannot abandon. Before they can consider leaving, they must first ensure that a blood bath will not ensue.

Finally, there are the Soviets themselves—not the political leaders mouthing words of peace in Moscow, but the men and women on the ground in Afghanistan. Western diplomats in Kabul say they have never seen as many cargo aircraft landing at the Kabul airport, more than 50 planes a day during good weather, each laden with materials that will make any withdrawal that much more difficult.

Afghanistan is the Soviet Union's first military venture outside the Warsaw Pact countries since World War II. In the early stages of the war there was much talk about the sagging spirits and moral anxiety of the Soviet troops. But in Kabul and the few other cities visited recently by several Western journalists, the soldiers appeared confident and secure. Soldiers on leave posed with their girls, probably nurses in the large Soviet hospital, on the hill next to the Intercontinental Hotel.

The girls in their summer cotton dresses and the young soldiers with their caps tucked into their belts looked like a postcard from 1942, from another army and another war.

They looked like they were here to stay.

May 14, 1987

## THE NEW YORK TIMES

By STEVEN R. WEISMAN

Special to The New York Times

KABUL, Afghanistan, May 9 — The Soviet-backed Government is seeking support by emphasizing free-market principles, women's rights and the fundamentals of Islam.

Despite wide distrust, Government officials and diplomats here say, the Government may have begun cementing Moscow's influence in the country, especially among the educated elite. Tens of thousands of young people have studied in the Soviet Union in recent years and aid from Moscow has gone to build hospitals, schools and even mosques.

Western diplomats and some others say that with the Government's fight against American-backed guerrillas at

a standoff, despite the presence of about 115,000 Soviet troops, this "Sovietization" of Afghanistan could insure the loyalty of the next generation of educated people.

An Afghan businessman, pointing to his son, said in an interview that he feared there was nothing he could do to prevent the indoctrination of the boy in school. "If the Russians are still here when he is out of school, all will be lost," he said.

All generalities about the direction of Afghan society are difficult because most of the country is still under violent dispute. Many experts say Kabul controls the major cities and roadways but only a fraction of the countryside. Others say the Afghan guerrillas also control little of the countryside but are able to move freely and exert influence in most places as long as Soviet and Afghan troops are not there.

Many experts therefore assert that the specter of a permanently "Sovietized" country is exaggerated and that Afghan resentment of foreign domination, which has been a feature of Afghan history for 2,000 years, cannot help but continue.

In any case, such Soviet influence appears to be largely a phenomenon of the cities and their environs, where Government education and literacy programs have been introduced and wages increased over the years. But the style of government has had to accommodate Afghan traditions.

For the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, which has ruled the country since taking power in a military coup in 1978, the first step in that effort has been to recognize that Marxism is an unlikely transplant in a coun-



The New York Times/Steven R. Weisman

Russian women shopping at a bazaar in Kabul, Afghanistan. "Sovietization" of the country, Western diplomats and others say, could insure the loyalty of the next generation of educated people.

try that has engaged in free trade since the days of the Silk Route to China.

"In the beginning, everyone wanted to bring everything under state control," said Sayed Amanuddin, Afghanistan's Deputy Prime Minister. "But the revolution is not a socialist revolution or a Communist revolution. It is a national democratic revolution that respects the private sector."

Mr. Amanuddin said that 80 percent of Afghanistan's \$3 billion economy was in private hands. This includes almost all farms, but excludes utilities and some industries.

Thus the Government may pledge undying friendship with Moscow, condemn "reactionary elements" trying to overthrow it and rely on Soviet aid for 40 percent of its budget, but it has also just sponsored a conference on encouraging private entrepreneurs and continually proclaims its faith in Islam, despite the preachings of some party leaders two decades ago that religion was a drag on progress.

#### Ancient Game Is Revived

Other efforts are under way to court support from traditional quarters. In a small example, for the first time in years, there has been a revival of the ancient Afghan game of buzkashi, which is a frenzied contest with dozens of horsemen fighting for possession of a goat carcass.

Evening television emphasizes religious programming, including a state-sponsored Koran reading contest. Afghan soldiers can be seen walking the streets carrying Islamic prayer beads.

Recognizing also that the insurgents are in many cases Islamic fundamentalists, the Government has begun spending large sums to build and reconstruct mosques and place more mullahs, or religious leaders, on the public payroll.

Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil said in a recent speech, for example, that "thousands of mullahs each will get big amounts of money" under new Government programs, but that the funds would be given to those clerics "coming to the side of the truth" — that is, supporting the Government's battle against the guerrillas.

Officials also acknowledge that an attempt to collectivize farms some years ago resulted in violent clashes, infuriating so many powerful religious leaders and landlords that it had to be dropped. Instead, the Government tries to enforce certain limits on the size of landholdings.

#### Many Signs of Capitalism

The signs of capitalism abound in this busy capital, but nowhere more than at Shazada Market, the hub of Afghanistan's export and import trade. There businessmen can walk in with a shipping order and obtain a \$10,000 loan at 12 percent to import Japanese or European goods to be sold — but mostly smuggled — to Pakistan and elsewhere in South Asia.

Mohammed Rahim Arzmand, president of the currency exchange market, said that its 220 storefronts do \$2 million in business a day. Their customers are largely the 6,000 people who import European and American clothes, Japanese electronics and other products for re-export.

"Our Government is allowing us to do business here because we are bringing dollars into Afghanistan," Mr. Arzmand said, interrupting a flood of telephone calls for an interview. Generally, he said, business has been brisk despite the war through much of the country-side.

Afghan imports destined for re-export come in hundreds of 20-foot metal crates each month, some brought from Japan on the Trans-Siberian Railroad. Some goods are shipped in sealed containers to Karachi, Pakistan, then brought overland under an agreement with Pakistan that permits such shipments because Afghanistan has no port.

#### Commerce Is Uninterrupted

Many of the goods can be found in Afghan bazaars, from Yugoslav hams to French perfume, American jeans and Japanese calculators. Businessmen say they sell a lot of these items to the estimated 9,000 Soviet civilians stationed in Afghanistan.

There is an ingenuity about the business that seems peculiarly Afghan or South Asian. The crates, for instance, all seem to end up as tiny homes or storefronts themselves in the city's poor neighborhoods.

War is not permitted to interrupt Afghanistan's commerce. Businessmen noted that traders shipping materials to neighboring Iran or Pakistan simply make payoffs to Afghan authorities, Soviet soldiers, guerrilla leaders or whoever else controls the territory through which they must pass.

In interviews, many businessmen complained about inflation — estimated at 20 to 30 percent a year — but said they were managing to live under a "revolutionary" Government. But many others said privately that Soviet influence was highly resented and that they wished for the day that the Russian troops would leave.

"The people may tell you something different," said an Afghan professional worker living in Kabul, "but let me tell you that 99.9 percent of the Afghan people want this Government out and they want the Russian troops out."

The use of religion to build support for the Government is also difficult to assess, although Government officials



The New York Times/Sтивен R. Weisman

Afghan money traders in Kabul carrying bags of cash at the Shazada Market, Afghanistan's currency exchange, where \$2 million in business a day is done at 220 storefronts.

From the editor:

This issue features reports from three journalists who were invited on a guided tour of the DRA. While the articles carry datelines from inside Afghanistan, the reports were probably filed after the authors' departures.

The rumor department is busy: a whisper that Iran is leading a movement to scrap the Geneva talks and start over with a new cast; the news that 80% of the to-be-elected jirgah of the mujahideen will come from inside Afghanistan and only 20% from the refugee camps upset Gulbuddin Hekmatyar since reportedly most of his support is external; a report that Pakistan, concerned about corruption in the ranks, is putting civilians in charge of administering supplies to the Afghans, either facilitating delivery or creating a new cadre of nouveau riche. And then there is the ex-king who, fortunately or unfortunately, is not a rumor. Whether or not he will become a roomer is the subject of worldwide debate.

Our far-sighted readers will be happy that most of this issue is in full-sized print. The news from Kabul is still reduced but we recommend a magnifying glass. Sultan Ali Keshtmand is always worth reading.

Our continued gratitude to those who send us information. Please keep on. The deadline for the next issue is 8/15.

## EVENTS

"Children of Afghanistan" was the topic of a conference held in Stockholm on 4/5 & 6. The first part of the conference dealt with the problems of the children; the remaining time was given to representatives from European voluntary agencies to discuss what specific actions their organizations could take and how int'l organizations could be more effective. Participants included Lisbeth Palme, Inger Boesen, Haider Reza, Fay Haffenden, Reza Gul, Katerina Engberg, Nancy Dupree, Anthony Hyman, Marie-Odile Terrenoire & Carl Schonmeyr.

The United Students of Iowa held an Afghan Conference at the University of Northern Iowa from 4/11-15. Participants in the sessions, organized by Richard Newell, included Jamiat-e-Islami representatives Omar Sherdil (New York) and Ehsan Jan Areef (Washington).

## ORGANIZATIONS (also see p. 32)

We received the Charter of the Organization of the National Resistance of Afghanistan. It arrived in a plain buff envelope but with no return address either on the Charter or the envelope. The legible letters on the postmark were "NO VA MSC 220." Can any of our readers identify this group? The 8-page Charter gives specific proposals for implementation of a military strategy; a list of political objectives; guidelines for domestic policies including political and judicial systems; economic, education and health programs; and foreign policy guidelines.

The Institute for Development Research & Development Policy at Ruhr University (Postfach 10 21 48, 4630 Bochum 1, West Germany) has established the "German Afghanistan Archives." The Archives would like to receive articles, clippings, statutes of organizations, etc., to add to its files.

From the Spring 1987 Asian Studies Newsletter:

The founding meeting of the American Academy of South Asian Studies (AASAS) met in August, 1986. The academy is comprised of scholars and professionals interested in South Asia. Its purpose is to promote study of Afghanistan, Bangladesh, Bhutan, India, Maldives, Nepal, Pakistan and Sri Lanka and their growing importance to the U.S. and the world. **Mohammad I. Khan** (History, Clarion University of Pennsylvania) was appointed Executive Director. Clarion University will serve as headquarters for the Academy. For information and membership application, contact: Mohammad I. Kahn, Executive Director, American Academy of South Asian Studies, 330 Founder's Hall, Clarion University of Pennsylvania, Clarion, PA 16214 or call 814-226-2550/2546.

were able to show foreign journalists many mosques that had been rebuilt under Government programs.

"We are glad the Government is providing us with assistance," said Qari Akhtar Mohammed, a mullah at a newly rebuilt mosque in the outskirts of Kabul. "They are making sure that there are no obstacles to the health of Islam."

But a worshiper leaving the mosque after evening prayers said he was not so sure the actions were winning support among the people. Asked if the Government was sincere in strengthening Islam, he said: "I'm not going to answer that question. What do you think?"

#### Women Make Gains

Many diplomats, professionals and others say that the Government has won support among working women because it appears to have gone out of its way to provide day-care services, literacy training and other benefits for women.

"Women are the strongest supporters of the revolution," said Soraya, a party member and general secretary of the Afghan Red Crescent Society. "For the first time, our women have been given equal rights at the level of education, work, salaries and other areas."

A Western diplomat said that rights for women was one of the few areas he would concede had been an achievement of the 1978 revolution, but he and others noted that one reason women have moved into higher positions in the workplace is that so many men are off fighting the guerrillas.

At Kabul University, where today 55 percent of the 7,000 students are women, many women recall that one of the insurgent leaders, Gulbaddin Hekmatyar, is an Islamic fundamentalist who used to oppose women's removal of their veils when he was a student there more than 20 years ago.

"His people used to throw acid at women," said Jamila Takhari, a 19-year-old student. "They don't want women to have an equal role in society."

She and her friends agreed that if Mr. Hekmatyar were to ever come to power in Afghanistan, women would have to struggle to retain their rights.

**MAY 15, 1987**

### Los Angeles Times

By RONE TEMPEST,  
Times Staff Writer

KABUL, Afghanistan—Old-timers remember this as a lively, playfully irreverent city.

Once, street urchins had a standard greeting for Westerners strolling down the market lanes: "Hey, Mr. Katchalu," they would shout.

That means "Mr. Potato" in the local Dari language. The nickname dates back two centuries to the Europeans who introduced potatoes to this remote Central Asian land ringed with mountains. But it is no longer heard on the streets of Kabul.

Once, government parades, or any other display of self-importance, were ridiculed by impromptu street theater. A goose-stepping soldier would inspire a ragamuffin army of imitators on the sidewalks. An over-pious mullah—Muslim religious leader—might spark a few curb-side one-liners about his paternal origins.

#### No Longer a Tolerant City

"They used to taunt authority," said an American diplomat who also lived here 10 years ago.

Once, this was a place with a sense of humor where no one got respect. That enabled it to be tolerant. All religions, languages, tribes and nationalities were welcome, and all were mocked in equal measure so that none could feel slighted.

"Of all the cities in Asia," said one European resident who has lasted 25 years in Kabul, "this one was the most tolerant, the least xenophobic."

But that was "before the revolution," as they say here, referring to the 1978 coup that brought the leftist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan to power. And it was before the arrival in 1979-80 of more than 100,000 Soviet troops, brought in ostensibly as temporary support for the struggling pro-Soviet regime.

#### Stewing in Its Unhappiness

Today, Soviet military police patrol "Chicken Street," where Western hippies used to congregate and smoke cheap hashish in the 1960s. The drone of Soviet aircraft, from lumbering Il-76 cargo jets to darting Mi-24 helicopter gunships, provides a background to daily life now.

The hashish has been replaced by Stolichnaya vodka, cheaper here than in Moscow. The popular Horseman and Marco Polo nightclubs are closed. The Khyber restaurant, where travelers used to linger over a cup of green tea to watch the parade of European "freaks" in Pushtunistan Square, is now a hangout for party apparatchiks spouting rhetoric about "the new phase of the revolution" and "warming over circles" and "socialist peace-loving nations."

In short, Kabul is an occupied city—occupied physically by the blond Soviet soldiers in ill-fitting brown uniforms and Aussie-style bush hats; intellectually by hundreds of Soviet advisers who inhabit every ministry and direct every government program.

So the irreverent city with a sense of humor has become a sullen place, stewing in its unhappiness. No more Mr. Potato. The smart-talking cool that was Kabul's trademark has become a rage of xenophobia, divided along East-West lines.

Those who oppose the Soviet-backed regime hiss their hatred in the bazaars, muttering "bloodsuckers" or "donkeys" under their breath as Soviets or ruling party members walk past.

Others are more subtle. One shopkeeper on Chicken Street sells traditional hand-woven rugs from Herat, an ancient city famous for its carpets, in northwest Afghanistan near the Iran border. In a back room, however, he keeps some that feature Soviet helicopters carefully woven into the pattern.

"Do you want to see the helicopters?" he asks when a European or American customer walks into his store. The carpet displayed is a carefully woven document of an occupation, an artistic rendering of the changed Afghanistan landscape.

The few Americans here, mostly with the skeleton diplomatic mission that the United States has maintained here since the Soviet invasion began in December, 1979, find that they are welcomed warmly once their nationality is revealed. In many shops, there is one price for Russians and one for Americans. The American price is lower.

To distinguish himself from Soviet diplomats, the American chargé d'affaires here, Maurice Eelam, wears a cowboy hat and a Western string tie and drives a Cadillac.

On the other hand, those who support the regime save their venom for the United States and Pakistan, both of which back *moujahdeen* rebels in their 7½-year battle against government and Soviet forces.

Last year alone, the United States sent more than \$400 million in weapons to the *moujahdeen*, the largest covert CIA operation since Vietnam.

These government supporters are mostly members of the People's Democratic Party, which has about

180,000 nationwide, government workers, military and security officers and their families. The government also finds adherents among the 30,000 families who live alongside Soviet civilians in the sprawling, Soviet-style "Micro-Rayon" housing projects.

The prefabricated concrete, five-story walk-up apartment complexes, exactly like those of the same name found by the dozens in Moscow, would be classified as substandard public housing in the West. But for the Kabul, after living for centuries in mud homes near open, running sewers, they are as upscale as Park Avenue. Even Najib, the general secretary of the People's Democratic Party and the leader of the government, who uses only the single name, lives there.

"This is a quiet place and all the facilities of life are here," said Yulda Saidi, 29, who is very proud of her two-bedroom apartment with its hot-and-cold running water and dependable electricity. She works as a clerk for the Afghan-Soviet Transportation Corporation. Her husband is an officer in the government militia, the Defenders of the Revolution.

Her four children are kept in a nursery in the complex.

In most Afghan families, the women would cook outside or in the main room of the home, over coals. But Saidi is able to boast of a separate kitchen—"just like in Europe," she said. The apartments in Micro-Rayon come supplied with a Soviet-made gas range.

Not surprisingly, the government that provides such luxuries, with the help of Soviet aid that accounts for 40% of the country's development budget, finds some devoted followers in Micro-Rayon.

#### Anti-U.S. Demonstrations

"I hope the day will come when all Afghanistan will live in Micro-Rayon," said Ali Mohammed, 18, a trainee in the Afghan Security Information Ministry whose father is member of the Central Committee of the ruling party.

Residents of Micro-Rayon are encouraged to demonstrate their support for the government. A banner on the wall of a police station in the complex proclaims: "Long live the ninth anniversary of the revolution—all members of the party please attend the parade to show solidarity of the people."

The parade, on April 27, drew more than 200,000 marchers and featured some of the most vitriolic

anti-American demonstrations ever seen here, including a skit showing a wicked-looking Uncle Sam whipping Afghan refugees "imprisoned" in Pakistan.

It is not true, as some Western diplomats have contended, that the People's Democratic Party and its Soviet ally have no support here. Especially here in Kabul, the Afghanistan capital and the country's largest city, there is a solid base of support, made up of people with ideological or employment links to the regime.

Still, after a two-week stay, an American reporter, who was relatively free to visit the bazaars and talk with the people, leaves with the impression that most of the people in Kabul oppose the regime and resent the Soviet presence. On several occasions the reporter was embraced after making his nationality known.

A taxi driver complained that the government had threatened to punish his children in school if they did not attend the April 27 parade. He had kept them home.

"I do not believe in this regime," he said, "But if they heard me talking this way they would put me in jail."

A businessman, speaking English in staccato bursts, expressed his hatred for the Russians.

"I was in government but I quit seven years ago when the Russians came. We hate the Russians. They are sitting on us and they will not go away."

"We will kill them," he said, drawing a forefinger across his throat.

The businessman, like many others here, was delighted that the United States is supplying the rebels with ground-to-air Stinger missiles. The very word "stinger"—pronounced here as *steen-gahr*—has become a common password among those who despise the regime. Even the government appears preoccupied with the Stinger, mentioning it so often in television and radio broadcasts that it has contributed to the weapon's reputation.

Likewise, the names of the rebel commanders, especially those who operate in the Kabul area—Abdul Haq of the Hezb-i-Islami Khalis (Islamic Party-Khalis faction) for instance—are whispered reverently in the streets.

"Abdul Haq, he is a good man," confided a government militiaman in nearby Paghman City.

In many respects, Kabul looks

pretty much the way it did more than a century ago. Many of the old landmarks still stand. The medieval citadel, Bala Hissar, has been converted into a training center for the Afghan army. The tomb and magnificent garden of Baber, the founder of the Mogul dynasty of India, still survive from the 16th Century.

And the dirty brown Kabul River still snakes its way through the old markets, with all their commerce and intrigue. It is in these old markets that a shopper can find Yugoslav hams, Russian caviar at only \$2 an ounce, Polish pork sausage, Dutch orange soda, French cigarettes and Bango Yellow Hybrid Popcorn from Schaller, Iowa.

In the used clothing stalls—they call it the "Reagan Market" here—Afghans can find discarded U.S. Air Force uniforms and Pittsburgh Steeler warm-up jackets.

"The Afghans are born traders. This is the capital of *laissez faire* in a Marxist-Leninist state," one astonished diplomat said. "Where else can you find bearded Pathans walking around in American high school band uniforms?"

There is also an open money market, called Shazada, where the mostly Hindu and Sikh traders will change any kind of currency and accept checks from hometown banks in California or Tuscany, Soviet Georgia or American Georgia—all without asking for a driver's license and a "major credit card."

Shazada also trades in rumor and information. It is often said here that "A rumor in Shazada market will always come true." Like the *bazaaris* of Tehran, who played an important role in the Islamic revolution in that country, the money-changers of Shazada have their finger to the pulse of their beleaguered country.

#### Word Travels Fast

The American reporter discovered the efficiency and accuracy of the market's grapevine one afternoon. A money-changer whom he had met once before sidled up to him in the multi-tiered open market two days after the reporter had returned from Herat, 400 miles away, on a government-sponsored and supervised trip.

"I know you went to Herat," the money-changer said. "But you should know that before you went into town, more than 1,000 soldiers swept the bazaar. Otherwise you

would not have been able to go. And they didn't show the part of town that had been destroyed."

The market of Herat had indeed been busy but subdued on the day that the reporter was taken there. And the authorities had refused to take the reporter to one part of the city, near a large Shia Muslim area, claiming the road there was mined.

Kabul remains a beautiful and wild city. Many of its hillsides are planted with the famous Kabuli grapevines and fruit trees, producing dried fruit and nuts that are legendary throughout Asia. The air is clean and crisp. The city lights sparkle like the stars above the magnificent mountain ranges of the Hindu Kush.

But it is also a deeply troubled place. Since the war began 7½ years ago, its population has jumped from 500,000 to more than 2 million.

Since it is one of the few relatively safe places left in the country, people have flocked here for protection. So much of the countryside has been devastated by the war that Afghanistan has folded its population into this city-state—*Kabulistan*, the natives call it. With more than 4 million Afghans living as refugees in Pakistan and Iran, and up to 1 million killed in the war, Kabul's current population may amount to one-third of Afghanistan's remaining people.

Soviet armor and artillery, the so-called "rings of steel" defense, are positioned in concentric circles around the city and its immediate suburbs. Trips to other cities by road take days and are very dangerous.

So Kabul has become a fortress town, connected to the rest of the world by infrequent commercial airline flights and to the Soviet Union by the military air umbilical cord. Diplomats have counted more than 50 Soviet military cargo flights in one day. Kabul has become like blockaded Berlin during the 1948 airlift.

Some here who loved the old Kabul and its playful, irreverent ways, fear that this city will never smile again.

"History is contradicting itself in Kabul," said one longtime European resident, who expresses heartbreak over the changes. "The city that never gave up is now giving up. We are in the advanced colonial stage."

May 27

# 'U.S. will not sacrifice Afghanistan'

5/13

WASHINGTON, May 12: A State Department official says the United States will not sacrifice Afghanistan in pursuing other East-West issues with the Soviet Union. Zalmay Khalilzad, a member of the Secretary of State's Policy Planning Council for the Area, said the Afghanistan problem is the most important of the regional issues between the United States and the Soviet Union and a resolution of it would significantly improve relations between the two Superpowers.

However, he made it clear that the United States will not let the problem of Afghanistan stand before other east-west issues. Khalilzad was discussing U.S. policy towards Afghanistan at a one-day seminar organized by the Voice of America on May 8.

He termed the Afghanistan problem, as it stands today, a burden on the U.S.-Soviet relationship as well as a burden on allies in the region, particularly Pakistan where three million Afghan refugees live.

He said that the United States has already assured the Soviet Union that it does not want "to bleed" Afghanistan nor does it seek a "unilateral strategic position" in the area. All that the United States wants is an independent, non-aligned and neutral Afghanistan, he explained.

Commenting on recent Soviet

conciliatory moves on Afghanistan, Khalilzad said they were "encouraging, but didn't go far enough." He explained that on the one hand Moscow did not show enough confidence in the present Kabul regime to withdraw Soviet troops swiftly, and, on the other hand, it wanted a coalition government clearly dominated by the Najibullah regime through the "national reconciliation policy". Because of this contradictory situation, all the United States can do now is to "keep up the pressure" on the Soviets in Afghanistan while at the same time reassuring them by keeping the option of a political settlement open through the mechanism of a prompt withdrawal that would allow the Afghan people to choose their own government.

## PAK-INDIA RELATIONS

Commenting on the regional effect of the Afghanistan problem, Khalilzad stated that the United States has sought to decrease the tensions between Pakistan and India through better bilateral relations as well as through regional cooperation programmes undertaken by the South Asia Association for Regional Co-operation.

Pointing out Soviet failure to pacify Afghanistan, Khalilzad said the Soviets were now selecting Afghan student as young as six to be "Sovietised" through education in the Soviet Union because the earlier batches of college-age students did not prove to be that malleable.

The Soviets were also concentrating "on building many more relationships" with Northern Afghanistan through closer economic and transport links. Khalilzad said he did not think that such a "regional solution" could solve the Afghanistan problem for the Soviets—PPI.

## Prof. Sayyaf's party renamed

LONDON, May 9: The organisation of Afghan resistance, led by Prof. Abdurrah Rasool Sayyaf, was renamed as "Ittehad-e-Islami Afghanistan".

Mr. Suleman Shah, the head of publicity wing of the party, told in Peshawar that his party was working under the new name and all the matters are being dealt accordingly which were earlier commenced with the name of "Islamic Alliance for Liberation of Afghanistan". He said that Prof. Sayyaf's party is the component of seven party "Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen".—AAP.

PT

5/10

## Kabul envoy calls on Ghaffar

The condition of Khan Abdul Ghaffar Khan, continues to improve, according to doctors attending on him at a Bombay hospital.

According to All India Radio, the Kabul Ambassador in India, Mr. Abdul Samad Azhar, called on Badshah Khan on Friday and inquired about health. PT 5/23

The "SOVIET DEBACLE IN AFGHANISTAN" appeared in KAYHAN INT'L on 5/2. No author was given.

In order to begin to get a fix on the enormity of the Soviet-sponsored carnage in Afghanistan, the largest ongoing crime of the decade and the resultant dislocation of the Afghan nation, numerical comparisons are useful.

The Afghan resistance movement gives a census figure of 20m for the period between the Soviet inspired coup d'etat in mid-March of 1978 and the invasion of 105,000 troops on December 24, 1979. To date 8m Afghans have fled the country, 95% of whom are in Pakistan and Iran. 1.5m have been killed, 80,000 from the city of Herat, the capital of Herat Province in the northwest, alone.

The total of 9.5m killed or displaced, 47.5% of the population, is particularly stunning when related proportionally to other nations.

A similar tragedy in Great Britain would force into exile or kill 22m people. In Nigeria the number would be 43m. For the Japanese the holocaust would total 57m.

Compare the 9.5 dead and displaced Afghans to the 10m 1986 census figure of Saudi Arabia, the 8.3m in Sweden and 6.3 in Switzerland. The combined populations of Libya, Singapore and Israel total 9.5m people.

The figures show that 7.5% of the Afghan population has been killed outright and 40% forced into exile for its refusal to submit to foreign rule under the guise of a series of puppet regimes in Kabul.

#### **The Gorbachev Revolution**

Afghanistan is the glaring weak point in Mikhail Gorbachev's face-lifting program for the Soviet Union. It is his Achilles' heel and he is ready to have it amputated.

Since assuming the reins of power on March 11, 1985 Mikhail Gorbachev has initiated what by recent Soviet domestic standards amounts to a second Soviet revolution. He has been working steadily to reinstitute the ponderous Kremlin bureaucracy and give his nation an air of political free-

dom and increased civil liberties, while assuming a posture as the newly anointed guardian of international peace.

Soviet newspapers, television and radio programming are now chock full of reform and even democratic-minded criticisms of bureaucratic procedures and social life. The range covers topics as diverse (and formerly unacknowledged) as drug addiction, prostitution and crime, to voting in the work place and the sorry condition of state-run zoos. His anti-alcohol program caught hard-drinking Soviets and the outside world unawares.

Progress through criticism is the new religion being sanctioned by Moscow; nothing is sacrosanct save the holy writ of Marx and Lenin. Foreigners from Yoko Ono, to trade union officials from Trinidad and Tobago, happily weigh in on the Soviet airwaves to inform the world of the new Soviet Union.

One tangible result of the Gorbachev revolution in superpower relations is that the Soviet premier is riding the crest of a stunning coup. Having come to office in the wake of the disaster that was the last years of Leonid Brezhnev and the sick-man premierships of Yuri Andropov and Constantin Chernenko, he was pitted against an extremely popular American president at the height of his political powers. Ronald Reagan was being touted as "Camelot" in the flesh; armed with "Star War" pretensions aimed directly at thwarting the "evil empire" centered in the Kremlin and its international minions.

Gorbachev has rendered all that rhetoric mostly irrelevant through his dexterity in public relations; most notably the superpower summitry and his universally well-received disarmament proposals.

In contrast, U.S. President Ronald Reagan's own ineptness, starkly highlighted by the Irangate scandal and Gorbachev's youthful dynamism and keen sense of the international political

atmosphere have made Reagan appear to be a capitalist version of Brezhnev as dotard. His new chief of staff Howard Baker's primary mandate is to keep him from too grossly soiling the Oval Office nest over the next 21 months, while reassuring the Western allies that political professionalism has returned to 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue.<sup>(1)</sup>

#### **Afghanistan as a Propaganda Tool**

In the context of the superpower rivalry, Afghanistan now remains as Washington's chief propaganda weapon. It is a bone lodged firmly in the Soviet leadership's throat. This issue also allows the administration to offset its American very own real anti-Islamic sentiments.

In this, the decade of Islam, Afghanistan serves as a high profile propaganda opportunity for an administration that has been at secret and open warfare with Muslims in the Middle East, North Africa and on its own doorstep.

In Egypt U.S. government dollars are the underpinning of the Mubarak regime. This aid has increased since Camp David in direct proportion to what Washington terms the "threat of Islamic fundamentalism" in Egypt and the region. Undoubtedly the CIA station chief in Cairo plays a role similar to that undertaken by Kermit Roosevelt as Gamal Abdel Nasser's advisor on the eve of the first violent suppression of the Muslim Brotherhood Organization in 1954.<sup>(2)</sup>

The June 6, 1982 Israeli invasion of Lebanon was carried out with more than an assenting nod from the Reagan administration. When that went awry, coupled with the demise of Bashir Gemayel, U.S. forces eventually found themselves shelling Muslim inhabited areas in and around Beirut. This was the genesis of the U.S. Marines disaster of Oct. 23, 1983, and the start of the taking of American hostages in Beirut which eventually landed on a now floundering Reagan's plate as Irangate.

Carter administration officials admit direct links between the November 4, 1979 takeover of the U.S. Embassy

in Tehran and the September 22, 1980 invasion of Iraq, staged by and about to completely unravel Saddam Hussein. Reagan still remembers with obvious satisfaction his failed murder attempt against Libyan leader Muammar Qaddafi on April 15, 1986.

#### **Unverified Assistance**

Against this backdrop of warfare against Muslim people, the tragedy in Afghanistan affords the U.S. a much needed public relations ballast in its effort to contain a resurgent Islam in the Middle East.

At the same time verification that the \$630m government sources say is earmarked this year for Afghanistan is reaching the guerrilla forces, remains on open question mark. The highly respected Philadelphia Congressman William H. Gray has his doubts and on February 25 of this year asked the General Accounting Office for a reliable investigation into reports that millions were missing. Leaders from some of the seven main resistance groups have also levelled charges that if money is being sent, they are neither seeing it, nor spending it.

Time will clear the issue of American support claims squaring with payment vouchers; it will also elaborate U.S. purposes which are strictly anti-Soviet; Washington being convictionally opposed to the Islamic state aspirations of the guerrillas. When the Soviets withdraw they will be leaving the Afghan regime to fend for itself in a virtual sea of hostility; Soviet energy will turn to strengthening domestic ideological and police forces against its own Muslim masses. The Americans will be faced with giving tacit support to the regime in Kabul while it does all in its power to divert the Afghan resistance leadership from its stated aim of establishing an Islamic Republic of Afghanistan. No doubt in the process the U.S. will invent a "democratic leader or two as a contingency should the Kabul regime not hold fast.

But the U.S. will fail to control the Afghan people just as the Soviets have failed. Gorbachev well

knows the Soviet legacy of the past nine years south of the border and is cutting his losses. Perhaps he foresees the Americans repeating their badly misinformed performances in Iran and Lebanon in an effort to thwart the Afghan Mujahideen's oft-stated aspiration. Or, perhaps, Reagan and Gorbachev tacitly recognize a community of interests, similar to the situation at the start of the Iraq-Iran war when both superpowers, in varying capacities, were at the service of the Baghdad regime's effort to crush the nascent Islamic Iran.

#### Lenin's Advice

This has not been the first Soviet (military) adventure against Afghanistan. The seeds of the Soviet debacle go back to the early days of the 1917 Bolshevik Revolution and to an extent centuries beyond that to the time of Czar Peter the Great. Having forcibly annexed large areas of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Khazakstan, and the historically renowned cities of Bukhara and Samarkand, which had been attached to the Kingdom of Afghanistan<sup>29</sup> from the era of Ahmad Shah Abdali (Afghanistan's founding father, 1722-1773), Vladimir Lenin ordered a halt to any further acquisitions. He cited the ferocity of the Afghan tribes as a very real disincentive.

By the time of the Soviet-inspired coup d'état staged by Nur Muhammad Taraki and Air Force General Abdul Qadir which deposed the Afghan strong man Dawud Khan on March 15, 1978, (who himself had dethroned his cousin, the king, Zahir Shah five years previously). Lenin's advice had been forgotten or simply ignored. The savagery of the Taraki coup; the entire immediate family of Dawud Khan was murdered immediately, nearly 45 men, women and children, set the tone for the ongoing Soviet adventurism.

One big factor which aided the new regime early on was the credulity, the sheer political naivete of the Afghan masses. They were ignorant of what communism was; the Afghans by in large had

never heard of Marx or Lenin. Communism was literally a new world in their vocabulary; nowadays it is a dangerous epithet. The much rehearsed government slogans "state of the workers," "state of the farmers" and promises of free housing, food and clothing for everyone were powerful incentives for the impoverished people. Land was seized and redistributed to those who pledged state support.

The primary element which did the government propaganda program in was the effort to force compulsory state education on the women, in conjunction with abolishing their tradition of seclusion and wearing hejab (the form of dress prescribed for Muslim women in the Qur'an). It was a fatal miscalculation. The seeds of insurrection had thus been sown nationwide; it was unorganized, a massive, strictly domestic response to the violation of religious law, family life and a way of existence embedded in the Afghan psyche for nearly 1,400 years. Worst of all, the state perpetrators denied the very existence of God.

#### Herat to Arms

Ten and one half months after the Taraki coup Herat was the first city up in arms. This was the flashpoint for the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan; the unravelling of a destiny planned for the Afghan nation in Moscow and ham handedly applied by the native agents in Kabul. There was no foreign hand in the matter save for the Soviet one. The people of Herat simply said "no" and it was bloody.

The Herat response initially overwhelmed the local government and military forces. After three days of fighting in which police and military barracks were overrun, the Muslim combatants found themselves armed and in control of the city.

Seven days later Soviet military advisers already stationed in Afghanistan led the regular military in a counterattack. In five days time they prevailed and 40,000 residents were moved down in the process. 25,000 died in the fighting, 15,000 in the

reprisals that followed. The Mujahideen still talk of the thousand plus literally buried alive and the execution of hundreds at a throw.

Far from crushing the resistance, events in Herat sparked similar uprisings nationwide. The dam had been breached and there was no turning back. The Soviet Union had unwittingly put the Afghan in his element: fighting foreign invaders.

After 14 months in office the Kremlin decided Taraki was neither clever nor savage enough for the job. He became the victim of a coup staged by his prime minister Hafizullah Ameen and lost his life in the process.

#### From Ameen to Karmal

What marked the Ameen tenure was a steady stream of Afghan men into the ranks of the resistance, emerging sophistication in guerrilla tactics and organization, increasing horrors inflicted on the population by the regime and the headlong flight of refugees into Pakistan and Iran.

Under Ameen conditions rapidly deteriorated. Leonid Brezhnev, fearful of the Kabul regime being overrun by the Mujahideen and also hopeful of exploiting the post-revolution situation in Iran and Zia ul Haq's domestic problems from inside Afghanistan ordered in 105,000 regular Soviet troops on December 24, 1979.

After a little less than six months in power and in the chaos of the invasion, Hafizullah Ameen simply disappeared. Later he was to be labelled an American agent. On December 27, Babrak Karmal flew in direct from Moscow as the new head of state. He had previously been posted as a diplomat in Scandinavia. (Almost exactly seven years later Karmal again took flight. He was arrested fleeing for refuge to the Chinese Embassy in Kabul, eleven months after being replaced by Dr. Najib, his former chief of the notorious secret police KHAD. His fate is unknown).

Brezhnev had hoped that the Karmal regime armed with relatively more sophisticated propaganda and

"reform" programs would be able to buy support and quell alarming popular misgivings; Soviet-Afghan forces would simultaneously crush the now prolific Afghan guerrillas.

He also seemingly intended to foment unrest and even civil war in the remote, contiguous Sistan-Baluchestan provinces of Pakistan and Iran. The idea was that in the resulting confusion the Soviets could grab a land corridor through both Pakistan and Iran to the Arabian Sea, thus fulfilling the quest of Czar Peter and Russian strongmen after him for a warm water port.

Brezhnev's age, visions of grandeur; his mind and body unbalanced by massive vodka consumption<sup>30</sup>, thus produced a miscalculation comparable (though not in scale) to the American's political blindness in Vietnam. But too much blood had already been shed in a nation known for revenging family honor and death by the Khalq faction Marxists, Taraki and Ameen, for a change to the Parcham faction represented by Karmal to effect public opinion. Lenin's warning on the ferocity of the Afghan tribes was now ready to come home to roost on the necks of the Soviet troops with a vengeance.

As for the joint Pakistan-Iran schemes, large sums of money and arms were distributed to certain tribal leaders and leftist forces in Pakistan. Disturbances and military actions in response by Zia's regime did occur. Inside Iran the new revolutionary government, to the surprise of its detractors, consolidated power so rapidly throughout the country that any mischief against its southeastern extremity that required military forces was rendered impolitic.

#### Soviet Volte Face

When Babrak Karmal was peacefully replaced in office by Dr. Najib 13 months ago it was widely held that he represented Gorbachev's intentions for attempting the long haul. His credentials suggested as much. Gradually as it turns out, Najib seems to have been groomed to give the Soviets decent breathing room between departure and the deluge. A



hardminded man like him, well-schooled in savage intrigue, is the only type capable of maintaining a government that will surely face collapse once the Soviet troops withdraw. A weaker personality in his position could not announce that Soviet troops would, at a still unspecified date, withdraw from the country. Nor would the Soviets have trusted a weakling for the task: a strong posture for an untenable position.

It is difficult to believe the Soviets think that the Najib regime can last. Time is what it is hoped Najib can purchase. Two years or so; enough space for the Soviets to have been disassociated from the carnage that is solely a Soviet responsibility. Again the numbers: 1.5m dead, 8m in exile. A total of 9.5m people, amongst the poorest in the world. A number equal to the entire combined population of Libya, Singapore and Israel; greater than the individual populations of Sweden and Switzerland.

#### After Najib

Of course disciples of doom of all persuasions predict that after Najib the Mujahideen alliance leaders will stoop to squabbling and perhaps plunge Afghanistan into a civil war similar to Lebanon's 12-year old nightmare.

Certainly the onus of the destiny of Afghanistan rests in their hands. Having witnessed the extreme tribulations of the past nine years and their countrymen's heroic resistance: mostly unfettered peasants fighting a superpower to a standstill and hoping to witness its retreat. A benign view of the situation forecasts an emergent leadership that will overcome whatever factional or personal differences exist and build on their huge commonality of interests under the banner of the Islamic Republic of Afghanistan.

#### Muslims Beware

As for the Soviet Union, the Muslims of the world would do well to remember that 50,000,000 of their co-religionists are held captive there, some for as long as 150 years. In addition, the Soviet Union in this century has the

unenviable position of having killed more Muslims and usurped more of the territories belonging to Muslim countries than any combination of sovereign states.

Putting that grisly distinction aside, this writer at least wishes Mr. Gorbachev well on his second revolution. Soviet society needs some breathing space and of course everyone welcomes a nuclear-free world; the logical outcome of the Gorbachev proposals. At the same time, it is feared that the new, enlightened attitude on weapons of mass destruction and civil liberties for the Russians might well translate into a licensed trade off for a new round of severities against the non-Russian Muslim people of the Soviet Union.

#### Footnotes:

1. Perhaps this turn of events, i.e. the unexpected political paralysis of Ronald Reagan is the American political and media establishments reward for the three years of gloating over the Soviet Union's pre-Gorbachev crisis of leadership.

2. A large body of Afghan resistance opinion looks to the Muslim Brotherhood organization and its founder the late Shahid Sheikh Hassan Al-Banna as their model and ideological inspiration. Significantly, Gulbuddin Hikmatyar, the youngest and most hardline of the seven main Afghan guerrilla groupings and currently chairman of the Mujahideen Alliance (a coalition of the seven groups) is said to have had especially close relations with Sheikh Omar Tellemissani, the former Muslim Brotherhood, leader and guide who died last May 22, 1986 in Cairo.

3. The area was formerly a part of the Persian Empire; it was never Russian. Culturally and linguistically, it is still not Russian. The people remain Muslim. Farsi and Uzbek are the languages spoken.

4. Commenting on the Soviet invasion in a speech soon after the event, Imam Khomeini noted that although the Kremlin's forces had been able to occupy the country, they would not be able to stay.

In contrast Joseph John Sisco formerly undersecretary of the Middle Eastern affairs at the Henry Kissinger state department, discussing the invasion a month after the fact considered Afghanistan as irretrievably lost, in effect the newest Soviet republic.

5. It would be interesting to hear from Premier Gorbachev whether or not some of the impetus for his anti-alcohol campaign was supplied by Leonid Brezhnev's hard drinking, public example.

#### Afghan Mujahideen Leader Yunus Khales:

KAYHAN INT'L 5/9



"Najeeb, the Afghan Communist Party leader, is a Russian orderly who has no power to declare cease-fire or offer national reconciliation." Muhammad Yunus Khales, leader of a faction of Hezb-e-Islami Afghanistan told the Agency Afghan Press in an interview recently.

With regard to the cease-fire with the Russian troops, he said that so long as thieves are in one's home the termination of struggle or attempts for conciliation would amount to surrender. He added that Russians and their puppets are trying to deceive the Afghan nation and divert their attention to things other than bloodshed committed and caused by them. However, he said, the Afghan nation is aware of their tricks and would never be deceived by such nonsense and worthless claims.

When asked whether the Soviet Union had won a battle in the diplomatic war against the Mujahideen by influencing the summit of the Organization of Islamic Conference which passed a very mild resolution on Afghanistan, he said the O.I.C. had reaffirmed its previous resolutions which demanded the total, unconditional and immediate withdrawal of the Russian troops. Nonetheless, he said the Mujahideen expected more from the conference. He remarked that attack on one Muslim nation is considered attack on all Muslims and according to Qur'anic rules the rest of the Muslims are duty-bound to defend them and this, so far, had not taken place. He said the Mujahideen also expected to formally be recognized as a member of the O.I.C. The O.I.C.'s failure to recognize Mujahideen caused dismay among them.

He said he was against dialogue with Russia so long as its troops were in Afghanistan.

When asked how long they could have the support of the Afghan nation and international community, he said that as far as the Afghan nation is concerned it would fight to the last person and no question of abandoning Jihad could arise on their part. The external support he said they lacked could not affect Jihad because their struggle did not rely on the backing of foreigners.

Regarding the recent indirect talks between Pakistan and the Kabul regime Khales said that it is not in the interest of Pakistan to have a pro-Soviet communist on its eastern border. He expressed hope that Pakistan would not agree with the Kabul regime on anything that is not acceptable to the Afghan nation.

He also asserted that despite the cease-fire and massive propaganda of national reconciliation, Russians and their lackeys had continuously attacked Mujahideen bases across Afghanistan.



Penthouse  
5/87

The following is the first of two articles written by an independent South African Muslim journalist who spent two months with the Mujahideen deep inside Afghanistan.

#### Radio Moscow: Prevaricator or an Adjunct to Family Foreign Policy

**HERAT PROVINCE.** Afghanistan — Perhaps the best way to answer the question posed in the title is to elaborate what the Afghan guerrilla forces are not. Radio Moscow provides fertile ground for this.

If you tune in and take the English language programs beamed from the Soviet capital at face value, you get a picture of marauding bandits headed by old school feudals, the worst of religious reactionaries and misled peasants doing all within their power to thwart the progressive reform programs of the revolutionary regime in Kabul. This retrograde insurrection has been in progress since the spring of 1978. To this end they are being massively aided by the United States, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan and Iran.

The civilian population is at risk from these marauders who kill with impunity and are said to be terrorizing in the international drug trade. In these circumstances the sole humanitarian task of the 100,000 plus Soviet forces occupying the country is simply to support the legitimate government in Kabul which initially called in Soviet troops on December 24, 1979 to put down this rebellion in tandem with the regular forces of the Afghan army. (The broadcasts don't admit that at the torches of all Afghan institutions, especially the armed forces, Soviet functionaries have the first and last word.)

With respect to the government-announced cease-fire in the weeks of 1987, no less than 200 and sometimes as many as 2,000 bandits daily lay down their arms, are forgiven by the Najib regime, and given the wherewithal to begin life anew with their wives and families. This particular point sounds suspiciously familiar to the Westmoreland era in Vietnam and the infamous "body counts" of the enemy soldiers, which if taken as posted would have meant overwhelming successes for the American war effort, but were finally discredited as a crude propaganda hoax for domestic public consumption.

#### Unknown Battles, Unheard, Of Peace

My personal animus with the Soviet radio program is the result of listening to their disinformation for the past two months from the vantage

point of a number of Mujahideen redoubts in the western extremes of Afghanistan. These are located between remote outposts like Kharz Elias, Gulran, Khosan, Islam Qala and Ghoryan which are all on the map; the guerrilla strongholds are not and this is the characteristic element that runs through the entire fabric of the Islamic Revolution of Afghanistan. It is obscure. The outside world has at best an extremely sketchy idea of what goes on. Battles are fought almost in places without names throughout the country with casualties running into the hundreds.

I witnessed the beginning of one such encounter at Qazal Islam, an Afghan border village manned by supporters of the Afghan regime with seven small Soviet-Afghan military posts inside the village and its immediate vicinity. It began on the night of March 9 and continued through March 14. The tactics were simple. Each night hundreds of guerrillas stormed the village and the government military positions. They occupied the village briefly, razing at least four outposts, and destroying a dozen tanks before dispersing with half a dozen Toyota pick-ups filled with rockets, light arms, bazookas and everything else they could lay hands on. They placed the number of dead soldiers mostly Afghans, at 100. Misdirected Soviet air strikes at the village victimized their own allies and raised the death toll to 144.

All operations of course are not such complete successes. The Mujahideen suffered only three fatalities, one was the result of firing barrages of automatic rifle rounds into the air in celebration of the victory. Six were wounded, none seriously. No news agency, including Radio Moscow covered this event.

If you multiply this incident by 40 you begin to understand what spring is like in the course of a normal week throughout the country. The point to be made here is that what is happening on the ground in Afghanistan is not being related and cannot be related to the outside by the people whose lives it is impacting against so massively. The reason is that there is that what is happening on the ground in Afghanistan is the guerrilla strongholds: known only to the guerrillas and the Soviets are unmitigated liars in this respect.

As to the resistance, suffice it to say that between the needs of the war and eight million refugees, there do not exist resources, logistic skilled manpower or time to refute the war of words being waged against them in coor-

dination with the continuing decimation of the population by military means.

#### Numbers a Good Indicator

But this is drifting from the question who are the Mujahideen? A combination of rough statistics (and all statistics related to Afghanistan are rough) and personal observations hopefully will provide useful clue.

All the administrative personnel of the resistance I became acquainted with, mostly engineers, school teachers, professors or tradesmen put the population at 20m at the start of the Soviet onslaught. They also agreed that the number of invasion-related deaths is between 1.25 and 1.5m. The

and was wearing more than 40 bullet holes when his body was recovered. A twenty-three year old squad leader, he had been at war since he was 14. On December 24, 1986, he was reunited with his wife after a forced absence of two years. His three-year old son now introduces himself as the son of the "brave Martyr Fazl Ahmad."

Najibullah Amin was a prosperous merchant from Herat's main bazaar. The last nine of his 36 years have been spent under arms or serving as a logistics and supply representative of the resistance. His elder brother was killed in action seven years ago; it is not easy to find a family that has remained unscarred.



Afghan Muslim Mujahideen hold prayers before going to battle.

refugee figure is said to be 5m, with 5m in Pakistan and 2.5 in Iran. The remainder are scattered throughout Europe with the largest concentration in West Germany.

Every town and village along the entire eastern border of Iran has a visible Afghan community. In Torbat-Jam, southeast of Mashhad and 50 kms. from the border there are 50,000 Iranians with an equal number of refugees. This situation is not uncommon. Afghans are ubiquitous in Pakistan.

My sources agree that to say one in fifteen Afghans (not including women, and sympathizers) is an active resistance member, is a fairly accurate statement of fact. This amounts to a fighting force of 1.5m men, the vast majority of whom are between the ages of 16 and 35. Of this number 1m partisans are always in the field with the remainder dividing time with their families ensconced in Pakistan and Iran.

These, however, are only numbers. Who are the men? They are people like my recently deceased friend Fazl Ahmad from Herat. He was killed in action in late January along with 53 others

there is no pay involved; only hardship and religious commitment.

#### Poor People Up in Arms

What really discredits the Soviet propaganda claims is that the vast majority of the fighters are from subsistence farming and pastoral families. Peasants, semi-skilled and unskilled workers, mostly illiterates uprisen against an ideology claiming to champion their cause and a state apparatus killing them for not accepting the "help."

The blend of lies, half-truths and complete reversals of fact that characterize Radio Moscow vis-a-vis Afghanistan can, ironically, be a useful tool in deciphering events in that war-torn country once a grasp of the basic situation is in hand. One outright falsehood is that the Mujahideen are widely engaged in drug smuggling. The complementary half-truth is that the Mujahideen butcher their own people.

No one can venture to defend the integrity of each and every one of the 1.5m guerrillas. But narcotic trafficking in areas I was in and these are border areas, is simply not tolerated by them on religious principle. And yes, it is true that the Afghan Mujahideen kill some of their own people: they hunt and murder drug smugglers for political, conventional and monetary reasons. Captured soldiers from the Afghan army are not, however, killed or tortured unless they are proven to be Communist Party members.

Regarding "foreign hands" in Afghanistan, it is not exaggeration to say that the Soviets own foreign hand, aided by Polish, East German, Czechoslovakian, Romanian and formerly Cuban men and material inside the country's borders represents a far more significant foreign investment than any assistance. In the camps I visited I made it a point to check the armament. Everything, rocket launchers, cannons, anti-aircraft batteries, etc., were either Russian or Chinese with an assortment of East Bloc replicas of the standard Kalashnikov. As for American arms, a total of three M1 "Long Branch" carbines, standard World War II issue for U.S. infantry men.

What the Soviets never counted on when they stormed southwards and what they have not been able to hide is the overwhelming Afghan uprising in response to Qu'anic verses like "Fight them until perdition is no more, and religion is for Allah".... (II, verse 191), and "Those unto whom men said: Lo! the people have gathered against you, therefore fear them. (The threat of danger) but increased the faith of them and they cried: 'Allah is sufficient for us! Most

Excellent is He in Whom we trust!"

#### A Decent Interval

These ancient religious sentiments and Moscow's ham handedness have created a situation over a nine-year period wherein they are pitted against a majority of the able bodied men in the nation. They know they will not subdue the Afghans and so, must depart. What they are groping about for now is what the Americans sought and did not find in Vietnam: "A Decent Interval", so aptly phrased in the book by Frank Shepp.

The Kremlin has the resources to attain that interval. Every session of the proximity talks in Geneva brings them closer. But the puppet government they leave behind may last no longer than a snowball in hell.

The American administration is also waging its own brand of warfare against exactly the same convictions directly or indirectly in Iran, Iraq, Lebanon, Egypt, Libya and Occupied Palestine in the name of U.S. strategic interests and the canard of combating terrorism.

#### AFGHAN REBEL TELLS OF FAITH from the Asbury Park Press 3/31:

WASHINGTON — Afghan rebels will fight Soviet invaders to their last drop of blood, says a member of the resistance movement scheduled to be admitted today to a Freehold Township, N.J., hospital.

"We have a very strong faith and we are a very strong people," the rebel, who prefers to be known only by his first name, Rahimdad, said through an interpreter here yesterday.

Rahimdad said the Afghans are fighting for the love of God and country, whereas the Soviets are fighting out of fear. The Communist forces are fighting because they are ordered to fight, he said.

Rahimdad's treatment at Freehold Area Hospital for a 5-year-old war injury was arranged by Sen. Frank R. Lautenberg, D-N.J., and a refugee organization, the Intergovernmental Committee for Migration, which is placing rebels in other United States hospitals.

A second rebel was also scheduled to be treated at no charge at Freehold Area Hospital, but the refugee organization apparently could not locate him in Afghanistan, a Lautenberg aide said.

Rahimdad, 33, said he was a farmer before the war, but his farm and home have been destroyed. He calls himself a freedom fighter in a movement where rank is unimportant.

He is expected to undergo an operation to increase the use of his left hand, struck by shrapnel in a fire fight with Soviet forces in northern Afghanistan, which borders the Soviet Union.

The Soviets bombarded Afghan villages and brought in tanks, killing many inhabitants, Rahimdad said.

"We attacked them back," he said through the translator in a telephone interview. "We attacked and tried to block their advances.

"They thought they could conquer us and they are finding out it's not so easy," he said.

Rahimdad said he left behind a wife and six children ages 2 to 11.

"God takes care of them," said Rahimdad, a Moslem.

Captured Soviet weapons and other material are the rebels' best source of supplies, he said.

Rahimdad arrived here with other freedom fighters awaiting medical treatment they could not get at home or in Pakistan.

— Fred Simmonds

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POINTS OF VIEW - excerpts from editorials which have appeared in the US press:

#### 5/1 - NY Post

It's party-time in Kabul, where tens of thousands of Afghans have been dragged into celebrating the ninth anniversary of the 1978 Soviet-backed coup.

Afghans with more choice in the matter — the four million war refugees in Pakistan and Iran — marked the occasion differently. They held protests and burned the Soviet flag — a more appropriate way of noting the anniversary of a coup that has brought Afghanistan nothing but war, suffering and devastation.

#### 5/23 - NYT

A broadly based interim regime might win the support of moderates in the Afghan resistance; it would be rejected as an abomination by Islamic fundamentalists who thirst to establish an Iranian-style theocracy. But America's interests certainly do not lie in promoting resistance factions bent on installing a clerical dictatorship. If a secular, non-aligned interim government would bring about a total Soviet withdrawal, it would be worth the price. Saying as much might shrink the long odds against an admittedly difficult outcome.

#### 5/5 - Detroit News

The situation on the Afghanistan-Pakistan border took a turn for the worse last week when a Pakistani Air Force jet was shot down for the first time by the Soviet Union's puppet regime of Afghanistan. The apparent violation of Pakistani air space is just one of at least 1,000 incursions that Pakistan authorities have reported this year, more than three times the rate of last year. These Soviet-instigated confrontations fit into the Soviet Union's long-term campaign to take over Pakistan, a development that would destabilize the region.

...The best way to stop the spread of Soviet expansion is through increased funding to the Afghan rebels, who have pestered the Soviets for seven years and could do even more with more supplies and weapons, and an unrelenting publicity campaign. The Soviets have been able to pursue their strategy quietly because they intimidated the media by publicly threatening to kill reporters inside Afghanistan — threats they have carried out. The United States therefore must rally world opinion against the Soviets, who have flinched in the past when their conduct was subjected to intense world scrutiny and condemnation.

# A Route Out of the Afghanistan Maze

By Selig S. Harrison

WASHINGTON  
United States spokesmen have laid down two conditions for acceptance of the projected United Nations agreement on a Soviet withdrawal from Afghanistan. They are a short withdrawal timetable and approval of the United Nations agreement by the American-backed resistance alliance based in Pakistan.

The Administration is justified in seeking a disengagement period shorter than the 18 months offered by Moscow. Under the United Nations' scenario, aid to the resistance would have to be cut off at the same time that the withdrawal began. But giving veto power to the shaky seven-party alliance could make it impossible for America to accept the United Nations settlement even if a timetable compromise was reached.

The alliance, divided between tribally based and Islamic fundamentalist elements, is controlled by fundamentalist leaders who demand an unconditional Soviet withdrawal in place of the carefully designed United Nations compromise.

Backed by orthodox Wahabi groups in Saudi Arabia, Iranian ayatollahs and Moslem Brotherhood groups in the Persian Gulf, the fundamentalist exiles oppose the traditional form of Islam practiced in Afghanistan and have much less support in that country than romanticized American imagery of the war would suggest.

For the fundamentalists, the goal of the war is the destruction of all Soviet and Communist influence in Afghanistan and the replacement of existing Afghan Islamic institutions with their own version of an Islamic state, even if the fighting goes on for decades.

By contrast, many inside Afghanistan who are suffering most directly from the war are more disposed to compromise with the Afghan Communists if this will assure a complete Soviet withdrawal.

The nature of the government left behind after withdrawal is rapidly emerging as the critical issue blocking a settlement. Progress on this issue would enable both sides to be more flexible on a timetable.

Moscow wants a coalition government with a significant but unspecified degree of Communist participation. The new government would remodel but not dismantle the existing Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, with its 400,000-man Afghan military and administrative structure, now controlled by some 25,000 hard-core Communist activists.

Michael H. Armacost, Under Secretary of State for Political Affairs, said recently that the United States would not accept a government "built around and led by the Communist Party." He called on the Russians to let the exile groups decide "who should lead an interim government and how best it can be created."

Seven years of bitter conflict have made a compromise on this issue difficult but far from impossible. Clearly, the leadership of a workable coalition cannot rest with the Afghan Communists, most of whom are hated for their collaboration with the Russians.

But it is equally unrealistic for Washington to cling to the exile groups, which have been increasingly discredited by factionalism as well as by growing charges of black-marketing in weapons, heroin smuggling and other forms of corruption.

Moscow and Washington should downgrade the role of their clients, entrusting the task of reshaping the Kabul regime to the former King, Mohammed Zahir Shah, the only Afghan figure who can command the necessary popular support, especially among the powerful Pushtun tribes.

Still vigorous at 73, Zahir Shah, now living in Rome, practiced a Soviet-oriented brand of nonalignment during his 40-year rule and is more acceptable to the Russians than hard-line fundamentalist leaders. While supporting the resistance, he has shunned efforts to create a government-in-exile, arguing that the door should be kept open for a compromise regime in Kabul.

He is known to favor a transitional government that would have Communist participation but would be dominated by non-Communists, including tribally based exile leaders and resistance commanders. The interim regime would convene a traditional Afghan tribal assembly and eventually hold elections.

Zahir Shah and moderate tribal leaders are prepared to negotiate with the Afghan Communist Party to find out whether a compromise is possible. The fundamentalist exiles bitterly oppose such a dialogue. Thus, if America wants to promote a settlement, it should encourage a dialogue with Kabul, abandoning its futile effort to hold together the irreconcilably opposed alliance partners.

For Moscow and Washington alike, a political compromise in Kabul would entail grave uncertainties and risks. But these risks could be minimized if the superpowers faced an issue not covered in the United Nations agreement: the future of foreign military bases in Afghanistan.

Administration officials fear that Communist control in Kabul could enable the Russians to maintain and expand their Afghan military bases. Similarly, Moscow is concerned that a fundamentalist regime might grant military facilities to Washington. The Soviet Union has repeatedly said it does not want Afghan bases. Why not test Moscow? If a verifiable understanding could be reached barring Soviet and American bases and intelligence facilities in Afghanistan, the political coloration of the regime in Kabul would become a matter of less importance to both superpowers.

Another key to a compromise would be the withdrawal of most Soviet forces in the early stages of the disengagement process. Such a formula, already broached by Moscow, would make it easier for America to accept a long timetable.

Skeptics argue that the Afghan Communists might end up dominating a coalition. But if Soviet forces leave, nationalism would gradually overcome or dilute Afghan Communism, while the longer they stay, the greater the likelihood of full-scale Soviet domination of the country. □

NYT 5/20

## Afghanistan's Future

To the Editor:

Selig S. Harrison (Op-Ed, May 20) puts the cart before the horse when he says that the nature of the Afghan Government in a post-Soviet Afghanistan is the critical issue blocking a Soviet withdrawal. Such a position gives the Russians an excuse for staying because, as Mr. Harrison points out, it has never been easy for Afghans to agree on a government.

What is required is for the Russians to leave and all foreign powers, including the United States and Soviet Union, to refrain from interference while the Afghans sort out their internal politics. There will also have to be international agreements on future Afghan neutrality and on massive assistance to rebuild a country the Russians have been systematically destroying.

Mr. Harrison, incidentally, also errs in saying that the Afghan resistance is dominated by Islamic fundamentalists, in ignoring the future influence of resistance commanders inside the country and in implying that the resistance cares more about gun and heroin smuggling than in ousting the foreign invader from their country's soil.

THEODORE L. ELIOT JR.  
San Francisco, May 22, 1987  
The writer was United States Ambassador to Afghanistan, 1973-78.

NYT 6/2

The rain has washed away the rest of the *katcha* walls, there is nothing but a few bricks left in a pile by the road. Only 100 yards away, twisted metal shutters bent from the explosion's impact are fastened with iron bars and wire to bolt the shop doors shut. A truck bomb on 19 February destroyed a school, eight houses and damaged shops that were located opposite the headquarters of an Afghan resistance group in Peshawar. Its blast killed 16 persons and injured 70 others, most of whom were primary school children.

Infuriated by the deaths of innocent children, mobs formed and set fire to shops and vehicles owned by Afghans. Violent riots followed for three days in various towns throughout the North West Frontier Province (NWFP) animated by demon-

lives for them. We want them to receive international protection but away from the city where we, too, have become the targets."

Nowhere has the continuing presence of the refugees had a greater impact than in Peshawar. Almost 20 per cent of the total Afghan refugee population in NWFP is located in or around Peshawar city and district: 61 of the 320 refugee villages scattered throughout Pakistan can be found in this district alone, almost as many as for the entire province of Baluchistan.

After almost nine years of cohabitation, the refugees have permeated the economic and social fabric of their host country. In Kurram Agency (NWFP) and Chagai (Baluchistan), the refugee population already outnumbers the locals, and the population of certain refugee villages like Kot Chandana (Punjab) is equal to the population of the entire *tehsil* (county) where it is located.

As tenants and consumers, the presence of the Afghans refugees has given a certain impetus to the local economy. But the numerous refugees who compete on the labour market as unskilled workers or who have opened businesses, are not always viewed as positive additions by local merchants.

A large number of the coloured buses, painted trucks and auto-rickshaws that whiz in and out of traffic and along the nation's motorways are registered with Afghan refugees. "They're ruining our business," complains Mr. Akhonzada, who owns a transport business. "They don't pay road taxes. Regulations that apply to us, don't apply to them so they have the upper hand in business competition."

Outside the urban areas, quarrels between locals and refugees over pasture lands, firewood and illegal entry onto private property have led to serious confrontations, and, in the Punjab, even killings.

Increasingly, refugees have become the target of blame for higher rents, lower wages and increased crime. "Tension comes in peaks and valleys," says 36 year-old Qasem Y., a refugee employed by the International Rescue Service as Education Co-ordinator. "It corresponds to the bomb blasts. No matter where they happen, we suffer the effects. I went

to Lahore shortly after the December riots in Karachi and was refused entry into several hotels. They told me it was because I am Afghan."

Many observers suggest that the hostility of the Pakistanis directed towards the refugees, though of legitimate concern, is exaggerated by different sectors who may be trying to get political mileage out of the "refugee scapegoat" issue. The government, for its part, has balked at suggestions towards more restrictive movement of the refugees. In fact, while many countries throughout the world are applying harsher asylum policies, Pakistan continues to leave its doors open. Over 70,000 new arrivals were registered during the last 6 months of 1986; 3,000 families in the NWFP and 8,000 in Baluchistan.

Reshmina, a 50 year-old widow left Bagyan, Afghanistan on foot together with 400 other families of her tribe. "It took us two and a half months to get here," she says. They arrived at Miranshah at the end of January. Unlike the first waves of refugees who found ethnic and tribal links in the NWFP, she and the majority of those who have entered since July, come from northern Afghanistan and speak Persian.

New arrivals in Baluchistan have already been registered and moved to the Loralai District refugee villages. In the NWFP however, registration didn't begin until October when pre-registration teams could verify the numbers. Registration of refugees in Pakistan under the best of circumstances is difficult given the magnitude of their numbers. Since last fall, however, some refugees who were already registered have been displaced from their respective villages due to bombings in the border area. They have dispersed to other sites and have mixed in with the new arrivals.

"In the past, people moved away from their villages whenever there were attacks," says Mr. Rasool Khan, the administrator at Nardag refugee village. "But," he adds, "they've always come back. This time only my staff is left. There aren't even any chickens left to administer." On 26 February, Saidgi, a local village only 2 kms from Nardag (12,000) was bombed leaving 85 persons killed and 250 wounded. According to Mr. Khan, the local population that numbered 400-500

### UNHCR Expenditures in Pakistan

Year	Amount in US dollars
1979	4,476,400
1980	69,331,000
1981	109,482,500
1982	93,978,300
1983	83,839,100
1984	82,545,000
1985	66,149,500
1986	78,617,400
Total	588,419,200

strators who brandished slogans demanding the immediate return of the Afghan refugees harboured on Pakistani soil. This protest was not the first of its kind nor was the explosion the first to occur in recent months. The number of incidents of sabotage all across the country has spiralled since early 1986; 151 victims were reported by the Pakistani Minister of Interior to have been killed in such incidents in the four provinces last year.

Mr. Anawar Alir Akhonzada, Secretary-General of an association of Peshawar businessmen and professionals that was created in the aftermath of the February bomb blast, explains the reason why the Peshawar Citizen's Front formally requested the NWFP Provincial Government to restrict the refugees' movement: "We're not against the refugees as such, but today we're sacrificing our

## RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"Woman Braves Afghanistan" by Timothy Van Zant in MILITARY, III, 8, January 1987.

ENGLISH-FARSI DICTIONARY OF LEGAL TERMS by K. Fahim, J. Habibion & F. Vittor, E.J. Brill, P.O. Box 9000, 2300 PA Leiden, The Netherlands. 120 pp. ISBN 90 04 08415 0. \$27.25 plus postage & handling.

"A True-Life Drama: They Were the American Flag, They Were Hope" by John Froom in FAMILY CIRCLE, 4/14/87.

REFUGEES - THE DYNAMICS OF DISPLACEMENT, a Report for the Independent Commission of Int'l Humanitarian Issues, 1986. Dist. by Humanities Press Int'l, Atlantic Highlands, NJ 07716-1289. ISBN 0-86232 696 6. 180 pp. \$29.95 cloth; \$7.95 paper. Coming in the fall from the same distributor: THE CONCISE ENCYCLOPEDIA OF ISLAM by Cyril Glaspe. Ca 416 pp. \$60. ISBN 0 905743 52 0.

"Afghanistan im Friedensfall" by Beat Krattli in ZEITBILD, May 1987. (Published by the Schweizerisches Ost-Institut, Jubiläumsstr. 41, CH-3000 Bern 6, Switzerland.)

Video available from Jamiat-e-Islami: A RARE AND EXCLUSIVE FILM OF THE CAPTURE OF THE FERKHAR GARRISON, PLANNED AND EXECUTED BY AHMAD SHAH MASSOUD, THE GENERAL COMMANDER OF THE FIVE NORTHERN PROVINCES, IS NOW AVAILABLE ON 1/2 VHS VIDEO.

THIS EXCITING VIDEO INCLUDES CLOSE-UP FOOTAGE OF THE FIGHTING AND THE VICTORIOUS CAPTURE OF THE GARRISON BY THE AFGHAN FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

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THE FRONTIER SCOUTS by Charles Chenevix Trench has been reprinted by Jonathan Cape, 32 Bedford Sq., London. 298 pp.

The article on Afghanistan in ART MUSEUMS OF THE WORLD was written by Nancy Hatch Dupree. The 2-volume set of books, edited by Virginia Jackson, M.A. Palmer & Eric Zafran is available from Greenwood Press, Inc., 88 Post Road West, Box 5007, Westport, CT 06881, for \$145. ISBN 0 313 21322 4.

CONSPIRACY AGAINST AFGHANISTAN: THE PRINCIPAL ACTORS & THEIR PATRONS by Moh'd Aziz & Vadim Vladimirov, Moscow, 1987, Novosti Press Agency Publishing House.

Kabul University has a new fortnightly paper according to the KNT of 5/17:

Pohantoon-e-Kabul (Kabul University), was added to the regular publications of University.

The first issue of the journal appeared on April 27, the day of the national jubilee of the victory of the April Revolution.

Kabul University is the oldest higher educational center in the country. It was set up in 1311 HS with only the faculty of medicine the monthly Mohaleedine. It also establishes e-imroz (Students of Today) some times ago.

Students of the university have long felt the dearth of such a publication. In the first issue of the paper says in part: "Kabul University and its primary party organization have the honour to publish 'Pohantoon-e-Kabul' on the occasion of the 9th anniversary of the April Revolution. It will feature sections of the university, scientific work and political and social activities of the students. The publication

will also reflect all round demands and wishes of the students, lecturers and other staff workers. The publication depicts activities of the Kabul University and its primary party organization, underway for the better training of students of the university.

'Pravda' organ of the CC of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union also has sent a congratulatory message on the occasion which is published in the front page of the 1st issue. It says in part: 'The Editorial board of Pravda has been informed of the publication. Journalists of Pravda are well aware that in the present-day situation of Afghanistan, particularly now when the policy of national reconciliation has been announced by the revolutionary government what importance has the journalism.'

We express greetings for the readers of the quarterly on this occasion and wish all successes for its writers and journalists."

The fortnightly is not only important for the students of the University but for all intelligentsia of the country.

The first issue also includes greeting messages of some papers and higher educational institutions, essays, news and entertainment.

Besides, the fortnightly has the duty of political and organisational training of the students and lecturers of the University.

The Editor-in-chief is Kazim Ahang, a famous journalist of the country who is also teaching in the faculty of journalism, Kabul University. His leadership will undoubtedly contribute in the better running and qualitative evolution of the paper.

The paper will strictly consider development of the language and cultures of all residing nations of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

New from the DRA cultural department: Sangirdis of Panjshir (Panjshir folk songs), Surudhai Mahali (folk songs), Pashae Wrono Miliat (Pashae brothers' nation), & Hesarake Chaljae (a collection of folk poetry). KNT 4/16

Deutschland-Nachrichten, published by the German Information Center in New York, carried an article in its 6/3 issue describing the treatment of Afghan children in Munich.

The Center for Afghan Studies at the University of Nebraska at Omaha is planning a new journal on Afghanistan. Louis & Nancy Dupree are the guest editors of the 1st issue.

SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH PAKISTAN, IRAN & AFGHANISTAN, edited by Hafeez Malik, St. Martin's Press, NY, 1987, is a collection of papers delivered at a conference held at Villanova University in 12/84. Contributors include Jon Anderson, Ashraf Ghani, Henry Bradsher & Louis & Nancy Dupree.

families, left Saidgi months ago since in his words the village has become "a routine target of air attacks."

Aerial bombings were particularly intense in late February and early March. For the first time, a refugee village was the target of a direct attack on 27 February. As kerosene, used for cooking fuel, was being distributed to the heads of households, aircraft flew overhead and bombed the refugee village of Matasangar in Kurram Agency (NWFP). The total number of casualties was 40 persons dead and 87 seriously burned. Among those killed were seven CAR employees who were distributing the kerosene. All of the other victims were refugees. Five days later on 3 March, another attack took place at Khairabad, one of the 3 refugee villages in Chitral Agency. One person was reported killed and 5 persons injured.

The government has no objection to the refugees moving further inland to "good-weather camps" according to Mr. Syed Munir Husain, Secretary of SAFRON. And while other government officials have not expressed any intentions to restrict the refugees' movement in other areas of the country, they have nonetheless made concrete efforts to appease the frayed nerves of its citizens.

Following bomb blasts in Quetta and Peshawar, police rounded up Afghans in urban areas and turned them over to the CAR. In this way some 50,000 Afghans were moved out of Peshawar back to their respective villages in the fall of 1986. Subsequent to disturbances in Karachi last December, 3,100 Afghan refugee families were moved in a similar operation outside Karachi.

Though less conspicuous in refugee villages, many of the locals living in communities nearby nevertheless perceive refugees as benefiting from better services than they do. "Initially Islam is a common bond for the reception of refugees, but those religious slogans soon wear off if the locals don't have the same facilities," points out the District Administrator in Mianwali.

For several years now, UNHCR has recognized the importance of sharing the infrastructure and basic facilities with the local population. Since 1984, a Pakistan Government/World Bank/UNHCR project valued at US\$ 20 million has helped local communities located near refugee villages improve irrigation schemes,

build roads and plant trees in areas depleted by refugees. The project provided 5.5 million man days of employment for refugees and Pakistani nationals. Now after 3 years of implementation, this project has been termed as "successful" by all parties concerned and is scheduled to enter its follow-up phase sometime in June. SIDNLAMB

### *The refugee camp of Bijar Booti.*

Bijar Booti is the most recent of the 320 villages established for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. While the camp itself is only a few months old, life in exile is not new for its 18,500 inhabitants. The majority are Tajiks, Uzbeks and Turkmen who over the past 3-5 years left their homelands in northern Afghanistan, in the direction of Karachi. Some were reunited with relatives or like the many Pakistanis who migrate daily to this bustling port city, were attracted by possible employment opportunities.

Finding work was difficult for the Persian-speaking refugees in a province where Urdu or Sindhi is the main language. Nevertheless, many heads of household helped the family survive working as factory labourers or transporting water. Others economically more fortunate set up shops or ran vegetable carts in the bazaar adjacent to their residential area.

Over the years, some 3,100 Afghan families took up residence in Soghrab Ghot, a low-income area of Karachi, alongside Pakistani Pashtuns and Kochai tribesmen who had been there for many years. The Afghans, who soon outnumbered their neighbours, were reported by the press and accused by different public sectors to have been engaged in illegal activities. Accusations against other inhabitants as well, led provincial and municipal authorities to carry out a "clean-up" operation of the area in mid-December of last year. No advance notice was given to any of the residents. Government buses and hired trucks under the supervision of law enforcement officials moved everyone out of the vicinity. Once the residents had been transferred, bulldozers razed the some 200 shops and all of the hut dwellings to the ground. Rubble and debris have been carted away and the thriving marketplace and shantytown have been transformed into a vacant lot.

The Pashtuns and Kochais were shifted to other parts of the city and

the 18,500 Afghans were transferred to a new site that had already been plotted out by engineers from the Karachi Development Agency.

An access road was upgraded and tents and blankets were quickly distributed. Families immediately set up household with their salvaged belongings.

### **"A model camp"**

Mr. Ali Mohammed Gardezzi, Assistant Deputy Commissioner for Refugee Affairs, is responsible for the daily implementation of this new refugee village and is determined to make Bijar Booti, in his words, "a model camp".

"UNHCR was not consulted or involved at any time in the planning of the camp or in the decision to transfer the Afghans," explains Gel-dolph Everts, Head of UNHCR Sub-Office Karachi. While nearly all of the refugee heads of household were self-supporting before the shift to the camp, he voices the concern that the majority may have been "thrown back to the emergency phase." Indeed, having recuperated only the most elementary of their belongings before the area was razed, many families have been living on what little savings they had. In order to help the group get back on its feet, UNHCR has contributed US\$ 475,000 from its Emergency Fund to the construction of basic facilities at the new site.

The World Food Programme, for its part, has agreed to distribute wheat rations for two months. Other food rations have been provided to the refugees since mid-December by the Edhi Welfare Trust, a Pakistani voluntary agency. The cost of food provisions were estimated by the organization's director and founder, Mr. Abdul Sattar Edhi, to have amounted to nearly US\$ 100,000 at mid-March.

Government officials have denied that the Afghans were in any way linked to illegal activities and have reiterated that they are free to commute to Karachi to work. Though movements are not restricted, authorities made it clear that like refugees in other provinces throughout Pakistan, refugees at Bijar Booti must be registered at an assigned village.

Flat and arid, the sparse vegetation surrounding the new site offers no barrier to the winds that whip dust and sand through the tarpaulin lean-tos. Tents pitched in orderly fashion are partitioned by well-planned

streets and alleyways. Canvas awnings and food sacks fastened down with bricks or metal sheeting propped up with boulders, form the compound walls around each plot that protect the inhabitants from the gales while also providing the necessary separation for *purdah*.

Mosques in different stages of construction are the landmarks that divide the village into 18 administrative sectors. On Fridays, the wind carries the sound of hammering from one end of the camp to the other as the roof or floor of a mosque is being nailed into place. Further down the street, *ad hoc* crews are busy digging trenches alongside their compounds to break up ground to be used in the fabrication of mud bricks. The bricks do not cost anything to make but other building materials are an expense that most families cannot afford. At Soghrab Ghot some had already invested their savings into the construction of the *katcha* dwellings, others were living in lean-tos or shanty huts.

Crowds of barefoot children playfully chase behind ornately painted tankers trying to fill their plastic buckets or containers before it discharges water into one of the 600-gallon storage tanks. Twenty-six surface water tanks with a capacity of 5,000 gallons each have also been built and once the pipeline connecting the refugee village to a potable water supply 2 kms away has been completed, the water system will be put in operation. Meanwhile, water continues to be supplied by tankers that make 40-50 trips daily.

A basic health unit (BHU) is also scheduled to be built but until it is ready for use, there are three different organizations providing medical care to the refugees in tented clinics. In case of emergency, two ambulances link the camp population to hospitals in nearby Karachi suburbs. Small private health services run by Afghan refugees themselves, have also sprung up in the village. Taj Mahammed F., an Afghan who was trained as a para-medic by the International Red Cross in Afghanistan, has opened a pharmacy. He considers business in Bijar Booti to be better than before and proudly displays his *katcha* dispensary as evidence. "I had a clinic in Soghrab Ghot where I was attending 50 patients a day; people haven't stopped being sick. As a matter of fact, the wind, heat, plus the precarious living conditions here in the camp only aggravate their illnesses."

But for most of the residents of Bijar Booti, the move from Karachi has represented a step backwards in their lives. "I lost everything when the bulldozers came," laments Fahrudin S. "Business here is limited only to the refugees. Besides," he adds shooing the flies away from the pieces of red meat hanging on hooks in his make-shift stall, "it costs me 100 rupees just to transport meat from town." His complaint echoes that of others who were also vendors at Soghrab Ghot. A regular bus service has been organized for a modest price between the refugee village and the city but the transferees complain that transportation costs have in-

flated the prices of all the items sold in the camp by as much as 20 per cent.

For widows who did home-based piece-work at the match factory near Soghrab Ghot, the shift has left them without a means of livelihood. Without a male provider in the household and now shifted outside the city limits, the unescorted daily journey of 20 kms to pick up piece items is a social situation that they wish to avoid. Huddled in her tent accompanied by a small bundle that represents her only belongings, one of the older widows bewails her situation: "Here they give us food that they tell us is only for a few months' time. What will we do then? We don't have anything. At least in Soghrab Ghot we could get by."

In addition to the 18,500 persons at the new village, according to government estimates there are 40,000 more Afghan refugees residing in Sind Province. Initial government plans included shifting 30,000 of them to Bijar Booti. No one had been moved at early April. It may be that the transfer of the first group of Afghans out of Karachi and the consequent demolition of Soghrab Ghot have tempered those who advocated the relocation in the first place.

#### REFUGEES - May 1987 SIDNI LAMB

Refugee camp at Bijar Booti, 10 km outside Karachi.  
(UNHCR photo)





# More aid for Afghans sought

By Khaled Nazer  
Arab News Staff

JEDDAH, May 4 — The migration of Afghan refugees to neighboring countries is on the increase while public contributions is static, according to the president of the Saudi Red Crescent Society in Peshawar, Pakistan, Wael Jelaidan.



Jelaidan

"The average number of Afghan refugees entering Pakistan is 6,000 to 8,000 a month, according to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees," Jelaidan told *Arab News*. He is here on a trip to campaign for the refugees cause and collect donations.

Jelaidan estimated the number of orphans at around 1.2 million. He said only 80,000 children are getting basic education and the rest are homeless.

Since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979, almost five million refugees have migrated to the two neighboring countries, Pakistan and Iran. The former is sheltering four million while the latter is now home for one million of them.

A year after the invasion, the Saudi Red Crescent Society, a government agency and a member of the International Committee of the Red Cross and the Red crescent Society, started its activities by establishing three basic health units in Peshawar, in the north of Pakistan near the Afghan border, in November of that year.

In 1983, the Saudi Relief Committee was established under the chairmanship of Prince Salman, governor of Riyadh. Headquartered in the Kingdom's capital, the committee has worked to collect donations from inside and outside the country for the Afghan refugees.

Jelaidan said the committee works in cooperation with the Red Crescent. "We meet the medical needs and the committee provides relief material," he added.

He stated that 78,219 patients were treated during 1986 in the province of Baluchistan and 435,903 patients in the North-West Frontier Province (NWFP) by the Red Crescent. He also said that 11 basic health units are working in the NWFP and four in Baluchistan.

The young Jelaidan, who completed his bachelor's degree in the United States and went to Pakistan for the job instead of pursuing master's course said now there are three hospitals for the refugees — the Prince Sultan Hospital in Peshawar (capital of NWFP) with 40 beds, the Makkah Mukarrama Hospital in Quetta (capital of Baluchistan) with 105 beds funded by the committee, and the Prince Sultan Al-Salam Hospital in Saranan (a small border town in Baluchistan) with 70 beds. A complete team of

physicians for treating tuberculosis (the second enemy of the refugees, as he calls it) is available at the first hospital.

There are also two mobile medical units and eight mobile operation theaters to treat patients coming to the Pakistan-Afghanistan border. This excellent facility has been provided by Saleh Kamel, a leading Saudi businessman and owner of Dallah.

Jelaidan said more than half the society's budget is spent on buying medicine. The rest of the money is spent on programs of prosthesis sending complicated cases for treatment abroad, and the running of a paramedical training center.

He said the Saudi Relief Committee has sponsored a program where widows, the disabled and the old have been provided with tools to manufacture quilts, shoes, clothes, blankets, tents and doors and windows for the refugees.

The Muslim World League, according to him, has sponsored a program for digging tubewells for the refugees where water is scarce.

Asked how active are the Arab and Muslim volunteers, Jelaidan said a little good work is being done by them but there is a tremendous need for doctors, preachers to raise the morale of the refugees, odd-job helpers and the media people to publicize the cause and needs of the refugees. He said non-Muslim volunteers are doing much better work. Although some of those people have no bonds with the Afghans still they are there to help the cause of humanity while we, who are so closely tied to them, are comparatively missing from the scene, he said with disappointment.

arab news

MAY 5, 1987

## Pakistan: health care

A major attempt to help with the critical health problems of Afghan refugees is being launched by the BBC Pashto Service through a comprehensive series on primary health care to be broadcast throughout 1987. 'Good Health' is designed to give a structured approach to basic health education. The programmes are aimed at populations in the North West Frontier area of Pakistan and Afghanistan.

'Good Health' has been devised with the help and advice of Save the Children Fund, which runs training programmes for community health workers in refugee camps, and Health Unlimited, the London-based charity which specializes in providing health services in areas of conflict.

The Pashto Service was started in 1981 and a survey conducted in 1985 showed that 53 per cent of the adult population in the refugee camps regularly listen to the Service. As at 1 January 1987, the Pakistan Government rolls reflected the registration of some 2.8 million Afghan refugees on its territory, of whom approximately 75 per cent are located in the North West Frontier Province.

KABUL RESISTANCE ORGANIZATIONS. Excerpted from the *AICMB*, #73, 4/87:

The Central Council of Kabul Province was founded by Cdr. Anwari who is based in Sanglakh & is a member of Sheikh Mohsin's Harakat Party. The group carries out political, military & cultural activities. It publishes *Payam-e-Sangar* (Message of the Front) & *Payam-e-Banowan-e-Islam* (Message of Muslim Women), has issued a textbook for illiterate mujahids & established a hospital. It has an active women's council in Kabul, "Shura-e-Zainabia," to train women in resistance activities. Its council in central Afghanistan, "Shura-e-Rohaniyat," tries to eliminate differences between the various Shiite groups. Anwari's organization also established the Peace Council in Maidan.

That Council is composed of representatives from many parties & ended the fighting between Harakat & Hezb-e-Islami a year ago. The DRA has offered an Afs. 500,000 reward for Cdr. Anwari's arrest.

REFUGEES — March 1987

## BOOK REVIEWS

HERRSCHAFT, RAUB UND GEGENSEITIGKEIT: DIE POLITISCHE GESCHICHTE BADAKHSHANS 1500-1883, Jan-heeren Grevemeyer, Harrassowitz, Weisbaden, 1982. Pp 254.

It is a pleasure to see a book in a Western European language on such a little known topic as the pre-modern history of the northeastern part of Afghanistan, since until now we have had to rely on Russian or Persian works. Grevemeyer fortunately has used many Russian and Persian writings, as well as French, English and German, to give us a virtual handbook on Badakhshan, its geography, economy, trade routes, and social organization, as well as its history down to the integration of the territory into the Afghan state by Abdurrahman. The author is not only concerned with great power rivalry but especially with internal conflicts and relations with neighboring lands and provinces.

The book brings many interesting items to light, for example, the strong position of Ismaili Islam in Shughnan, Badakhshan and Chitral (p. 114), with constant conflicts, raids and enslaving of captives of neighbors. By concentrating on Badakhshan the author has gleaned fragments of information from various sources to construct a history of rulers in the area and the many local conflicts which were a feature of that history. Changes in the ruling family, in the boundaries of control, and constant raiding were features of the pre-modern history of Badakhshan with great power politics, between the Uzbeks north of the Oxus River and the Moghuls to the south of the Hindukush mountains, playing a secondary role. Finally, authority over the domains controlled by the rulers of Badakhshan was divided between Bukhara and Afghanistan, clients of Russia and England.

Grevemeyer has given us a rare picture of a little known area of Afghanistan and it will serve as a reference book for information and further elaboration of the details which he has sketched.

Richard N. Frye  
Harvard University



### BOOK REVIEW

## FIRE AND BLOOD



In the beautiful garden of Pashtu literature a new flower has blossomed: Fire and Blood. Brought out by the State Committee for Printing and Publications, it is a collection of poems of professor Majawer Ahmad Ziar of Kabul University.

Rich in content, Fire

and Blood has high poetic standard and a humanistic tone. In simple but beautifully formulated verses the author portrays various aspects of revolutionary process in the country and the role played by the Peoples Democratic Party of Afghanistan as the vanguard of Afghan people and society. Ziar pays keen attention to objective realities and problems of the society. In the Fire and Blood, he introduces a new form, content and life to Pashtu poetry, resembling a liberated literature. He says:

"Free poem is a poem with free flow of senti-

ments. It is a poem which shatters the chains of rigid formalism." Professor of philology at Kabul University, Ziar has written numerous articles and papers on literature and education and holds a prominent position among creative intellectuals.

Ziar was born in 1935 in a peasant family in Hesarik village, Nangarhar province. He was only 10 when his father died leaving him alone to face the hardships of life. Lonely, poor, but brave, young Ziar fought against all obstacles that nature and

the feudal society placed in his way. In school he successfully outdid his companions with his own potencies. After completing high school, he came to Kabul and continued his studies at the Kabul University. Ziar had his post-graduate education in Switzerland and began his career as professor at Kabul University where he still teaches. In the college of literature. During the years of revolution Ziar has written many patriotic and revolutionary poems illustrating the tides of the national democratic process in the country. As an intel-

lectual soldier of the revolution, Ziar takes great part in generalization of the lofty objectives of the April Revolution.

Among his published works are a book on lexicology, Pashtu grammar, melody from prison which is a collection of poems, a Dari to Pashtu dictionary and two other collections of poems. Professor Ziar has also compiled a Dari dictionary and a German-Pashtu dictionary which is ready for publication. His latest writings include a book on Pashtoon and fraternal nationalities and a novel which has not been published yet.



Majawer Ahmad Ziar.

In addition Ziar has published countless literary and scientific articles in the periodicals of the country which testify to his enormous output and contribution to the flourishing of science and culture in the country.

(By A. Omarzada)

# KABUL NEW TIMES

## Children's literature 5/7 in Afghanistan

Our classical writers and poets had written traditionally for some books for children of the country. But we cannot call it a systematic work for the literature for children. In recent years serious strides have been taken by the Government and authors of the country to work harder for producing literature for children.

Actually, the movement to write for children was originated by "Serajul Aitfal" (Light of the Children) in HS 1297. Mahmood Tarzi, the father of Afghan journalism, founded this fortnightly newspaper. The first issue of the "Serajul Aitfal" says in part: "Serajul Aitfal will give information to its readers. And what is this? My brothers! I am a new sapling, cultivated by the orchard keeper of the knowledge. You find me and grab the sweet fruits of the knowledge."

"Offsprings of the homeland! I am a newly lighted bulb of the Serajul Aitfal. My oil are the rays of the knowledge. Wherever you find me, take me and find rays of thought."

"Esteemed school children! I am a small particle, in which the sun of the truth is manifested. Take light from me so that you can reach the sun of the truth. O children! I am yours then you also be mine."

Do not turn your face away from me. Read me. I am speaking to you on your simple and gentle tongue".

The paper according to Ustad Abdulhadi Davi, continued up to its 16th issue but later on it was suppressed. After "Serajul Aitfal" Tolue Afghan, a periodical stood first in the field of children's literature in Afghanistan. Ustad Abdulhadi Davi was the first author who introduced writing for children in the periodical.

After those publications in 1339, "De Varo Anis" a paper was set up beside the "Anis" daily. But after some time the paper was separated from "Anis". Then "Anis" carried material for children on its weekly issues. Sometimes later, new papers and journals came into being which published material for children.

"De Kamkiano Anis", "De Kochkiano Anis" and "De Kochkiano Ghag" and the periodical "Zeraf" are famous among them. In its initial stage, "Zeraf" was an educational paper. It carried articles and text books in series for school children and students. Later the paper started a special section for children. It was entitled "De Varo Dunia", the world of children. Zarin Shah Zafar Khil was a veteran author of the paper. He used to write folk legends, stories and fables for children. The paper also carried some translations of foreign authors.

"De Kochkiano Ghag" was a monthly journal for children, published under the Ministry of Education. The journal appeared in HS

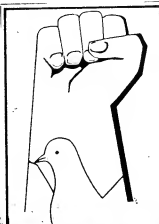
1339 for the first time. The journal published articles, stories, poems, entertainment, sports items and several other material for children. It also used to publish photographs of the top students in schools for encouraging them. "Anis" established "De Kochkiano Anis" in 1348 HS. This journal followed the course of "Serajul Aitfal" and other special publications for children which had formerly appeared.

Maulawi Saleh Mohammad Kandahari, Ustad Ulfat and Ustad Benawa were the authors who created for children's books, stories and other works.

"Pesh Ahang" (the Pioneer), a journal, and "Stora" (Star), a periodical, are the present day specialized publications for children of the country. Both of them appeared in the years after the victory of the April Revolution. Further, to turn the children's literature into a system, the children's literature section was established under the Writers' Association of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. The section brought out some works in prose and translations for children. It also held a national seminar on children's literature for the first time in the history of Afghanistan.

The revolution has put every thing at the disposal of children for every good thing must be handed over to children. (A. Omar Zadach)

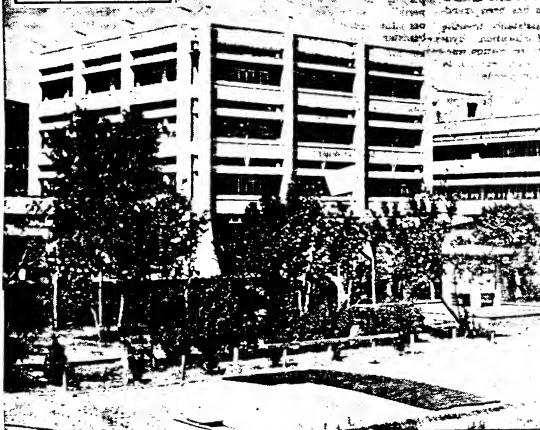
National traders of the country! You are messengers of peace. Better trade is possible only under peaceful conditions. Discharge your patriotic role for the realization of the policy of national reconciliation and the strengthening of the country's economy. 4/19



### HUMPHREY IN KABUL

Senator Humphrey who heads a group on Afghanistan in the US congress arrived in Kabul on April 13. He left for Delhi on April 14. Humphrey did not show any interest to meet the representatives of the government of the DRA and also refused to talk to

local correspondents. He had meetings in the US embassy with the representatives of the embassies of Pakistan and Iran. The question arises, why he had meetings with the representatives of those countries which support the Afghan counter-revolutionaries and continue the undeclared war against this country. Perhaps he had his stop-over in Kabul for this purpose. (BIA) 4/18



A view of the Indira Gandhi Child Health and Welfare Centre in Kabul, built with the aid of friendly India. 5/3 (Photo by Reza)



● Qais-i-Ekhtilaladeen, centuries old landmark of Herat city. It was built on the ruins of the Alexandria of Herat in 338 B. C. 5/10

A NEW DECREE HAS BEEN APPROVED ON MILITARY SERVICE REDUCING ITS PERIOD WHICH GIVES ADDITIONAL PRIVILEGE FOR THE MILITARY PERSONNEL. INCREASING THEIR SALARIES AND IMPROVING THE MATERIAL CONDITIONS HAS ALSO BEEN ENFORCED. WITH YOUR HELP AND ACTIVE PARTICIPATION, WE HAVE ACHIEVED GOOD RESULTS IN THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY. THE GNP HAD INCREASED BY 3 PER CENT AND THE NATIONAL INCOME BY 4 PER CENT IN THE LAST YEAR.

5/9

(NAB)

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# Keshmand stresses doing away with old work methods



The Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee has assigned me to answer a number of questions posed by the party members in the sessions held last month. Permit me to answer the questions raised.

Many questions are devoted to the drafting of the laws dealing with socio-economic issues. This work is at the centre of the attention of the DRA government. For such laws are linked with the interests of broad working circles and strata.

Drafting of new legislative documents requires much work and time as well as consideration of views of experts, all social strata, different social circles and citizens of the country.

Q: Why has the law on labour not been enacted yet?

A: At present the relations of labour, workers and employees are regulated according to three legislative documents, that is, the Law on Labour and Workers in National Industrial Institutions endorsed in 1945, the Law on Contract-Based Employees approved in 1970 and the Law on State Employees approved in 1977. As you see, all these laws have the necessary record of time.

At the same time, the production relations are changing in the country. And, this naturally demands the introduction of changes and necessary amendments to the prevailing legislative documents.

The State Committee for the Drafting of Social Security, along with the Ministry of Justice, Central Council of Trade Unions and other concerned ministries, have worked out the draft of the new labour law of the DRA.

The new labour law includes the progressive principle that ensures the right to work of workers and employees, provides for them sound and secure working conditions, possibilities of free higher, secondary and vocational education, free and voluntary participation in trade unions, participation in management, production and social affairs, solution of work disputes, coming of the system of social security, including the right of pension for all categories of working people.

While reviewing the draft of the labour law, the Politburo has pointed out that rights and obligations of all working people have been reflected in it. The enforcement of this law will constitute an important part of the revolutionary changes. The Labour Law of the DRA has been widely studied and assessed in many collectives of working people and in the sessions of leading authorities of ministries. State departments as well as in the sessions of activists of trade unions. Now the draft of the Labour Law of the DRA has been submitted to the Revolutionary Council for its final assessment.

Q: Certain proposals were set forth on the budgetary policy of the State. Particularly, Comrade propose that the state budget should be spent not only in Kabul and surrounding areas, but also in remote provinces and in districts. Likewise, great amount of allocations should be made for building and repairing mosques and schools.

A: Our budgetary policy today conforms to the conditions of state of war. Meeting the state needs has imposed heavy load on the State budget. The undeclared war takes away half of the expenditure of the budget that can be gainfully used for meeting urgent social needs.

Moreover, we are compelled to enforce concentrated allocations and severe economy in the State budget expenditure. Of course, the comrades who criticize our budgetary policy, are right to some

extent. However, I would like to note once again that the present-day division of State budget emanates from the prevailing military conditions. Under these circumstances, we still try to work out plans for the development of different provinces.

Our budget is fast acquiring a regional orientation down to the district level. In other words, our budget reflects not only the interests of economic growth at the national level, but the characteristics of socio-economic development of various provinces.

I want to inform you that, for the first time, regional planning has been included in the State Plan for HS 1366 (begun March 21, 1987). Its implementation depends, in many cases, on the activity of concerned local organs. This way, right now the local organs have great possibilities to purposefully make an effective and economic use of the local budgetary allocations. The task of rehabilitation, repair and construction of schools, hospitals, mosques, roads, big and small bridges has been placed before local organs.

It is natural that most of the questions deal with the problem of shelter. I can say that this problem is one of the most part of our social programme. It ensures the interests of a broad strata of population, and gains particular significance now in the stage of the realisation of the policy, of national reconciliation.

The party and the State pay particular attention to this issue, and the number of residential houses built through the State budget is increasing every year.

In the course of 13 years before the Revolution, only 2618 apartment houses were built in Kabul. In the years after the Revolution, 5,817 apartments and residential houses have been built. Now, 1,000 apartment houses are built annually. Another year's time, with the expansion of its building capacity, Kabul housing Pre-Fabrication Complex, alone will build over 1,500 apartment houses. Of course, this is less than the tremendous destruction of the past years, this, under the present conditions, the realities of illegal distribution of residences is not tolerable. Many party members talked rightly on this issue in the session.

Q: Why are the State apartments distributed in Kabul in violation of the Law? Why do some individuals, who have their private houses, get State apartments?

A: Why are the land plots distributed through intermediaries and personal friendship? This causes suffering, above all, to the disabled and the families of the martyrs of the Revolution.

A People better understand that today the government cannot increase the building of residences manifold. Therefore, they do not ask many questions. However, the party members cannot cope with such violations.

Distinguished viewers,

Permit me to inform you of the measures adopted by the Party and the State for solving this basic problem of the life. The right of the people to have residence will also be ensured in the future through the growth and preservation of State residences. The utilisation of every square metre of an apartment costs 87 Afis to the State. However, the residents pay twice less than that, that is, 30 Afis for every square metre. It means that the rent of every room should be around 800 Afis.

We should honestly admit that we have not yet formulated a sound system for the distribution of apartments and land plots. We do not have precise and endorsed regulations and other legislative chart.

The regulation on the registration, census and distribution of state residential houses and estates in Kabul city have been prepared. The Government will review and endorse it shortly. For the first

time, norms have been established to provide shelter to the individuals. The desecrating people would be registered and enlisted, and the apartments and land plots which they should get determined in this important document.

Control over just distribution would be exercised directly by collectives of working people and in the working places of individuals. We will assign the Ministry of the DRA to study the experience of the executive committee of Kabul city in implementing this document, and draft and work out unified procedure for distribution of apartments and land plots throughout the country. We would also assign it to draft regulation on the lease of residential houses. This regulation would specify the rights and obligations of both sides, that is, the lessee and the lessor.

The executive committee of Kabul city and provinces of the country will be assigned to accomplish the registration and enumeration of residential houses, and establish necessary norms for registering and enumerating apartments.

Of course, we cannot agree with this fact that, despite the shortage of residential houses, some families having their own houses, use State apartments. We have decisively struggled, and will fight, against those negative phenomena.

The study and indication of the facts that some people are not awarded of the rights and privileges which are accepted by the State for the disabled and the families of the martyrs of the Revolution as well as for the best workers and other categories of employees. Therefore, we assign the State Committee of Radio-TV and Press to carry on the informative work.

While thinking about the residential houses, I want to address our countrymen. Let us, with our time-honoured customs and traditions, through organising voluntary collective work, build schools, mosques and houses. The Government will support this initiative with monetary aid and construction material.

Party members, reflecting the spirit of the people, have attached high value to the gratis aid. However, at the same time, they have critically talked of the violations in this regard, its storage, transportation and distribution of the people.

In the press conference held on May 9, I talked on this matter in detail.

At the same time, I want to note that the sale of gratis foodstuffs and other essential goods as well as the use of its income for strengthening the State budget and their free distribution to the residents of the country play an important role in upgrading the living conditions of the people.

The Soviet Union has a particular role to play in rendering gratis aid. Last year, foodstuffs and essential goods at a total cost of one billion Afghani, were sent from the Soviet Union and distributed freely. This year, greater amount of Soviet gratis aid including wheat, flour, ghee, sugar and primary goods such as kerosene, soap, matches, footwear, clothes and household appliances, will be distributed.

To maintain control over the distribution of gratis aid goods, a special commission of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee and the Council of Ministers was set up. The chairman, Comrade Nazar Mohammad, alternate member of the Politburo of the PDPA Central Committee and First Deputy Chairman of the Council of Ministers. Concerned commissions have also been established in provinces.

However, there are some existed defects in the distribution of goods. Speakers in the party sessions talked about them. For instance, gratis aid was allotted for Kajaki district of Helmand province twice. But the goods were sold in the bazaar. If this information is correct, this should be regarded as the most harsh violation of the distribution of gratis aid. Instructions were issued to the respective organs to identify these violations. We shall severely pursue the perpetrators. A number of comrades propose that the gratis aid should be distributed through the heads of tribes under the Party control. But can I say in this regard? You know that a decision is made in every world case in that particular locality. You know that at the transport and distribution of this aid are carried on by the units and detachments of Army and Tasharad as well as the local authorities.

It is proposed that, while distributing the primary goods and foodstuffs that are sent to us from the friendly country it is necessary to vastly publicise

the traditional Afghan-Soviet friendship. This proposal is right. Party and State organs will strengthen the informative work.

Q: In party sessions, allegations were made of embezzlement, bribery and misuse of State funds for personal ends and immoral behavior of some leading officials as well as on the liberalistic approach of State organs toward these phenomena.

A: Generally speaking, such criticism is just and above all, is the indicative of the tendency of party members for having a sound, credible and militant party. The second conclusion drawn is that if the party openly talks of such phenomena, then such a party would be strong. The third conclusion is that the work of controlling-organs of the party and the State and legislative organs in the struggle against these phenomena has not been very much. And, we, I mean the Council of Ministers and the various ministries, are obliged to prevent the recurrence of such phenomena.

The party and the government will seriously investigate all those who violate the principles and aspirations of the revolution.

Now we deal with the issue of state administration.

Our new system of state administration came into being with the victory of the April Revolution and is traversing its evolutionary stage. It is understandable that certain short-comings do exist in this connection. Some of which should be removed gradually. For example, reorganisation and restructuring of administrative cadres needs time and again time.

The party organizations of the ministries and state institutions can play a further significant role in the extension of the new and modern conception of state administration. At present conditions, conformity of words with deeds and proper approach of responsible persons toward the people is regarded as a criteria for his or her principled behaviour as a party member. The more resolutely party and state control over administration is maintained, the greater number of existing people is drawn to administration affairs, the more limited will be the grounds for bureaucratic and formalistic approach.

Right now, there exist certain intolerable defects in our administrative system which could be eliminated right away. That is the indifference towards those who come to the offices for accomplishment of their work. We all should learn from Comrade Najib, General Secretary and other Politburo members who receive the working people every day. All the ministers and heads of state institutions should learn this. We should get rid of old methods even more rapidly. Such changes have been demanded from us by the party members in the questions they have asked.

Why are the matters related to the localities dealt within a slow pace in the ministries?

— Why is the struggle against bureaucracy weak in the ministries and state offices?

Why are people treated harshly in some state institutions?

While I was reading these questions I became convinced that party members are eagerly approaching the problems the people are concerned of.

The problem of assistance to repatriates was raised by a great number of the party members.

Based on the policy of NR we invite the emigrants to return to their homes and we would provide them with proper conditions to participate in the political, social and economic spheres of life of the country. We guarantee them equal rights with other citizens of the DRA. Those who return to the cities would be assisted in meeting their shelter problem, as well as in finding employment in industrial, constructional, agricultural and social service institutions.

We will provide the returned emigrants opportunities for higher education both at home and abroad, medical aid and other social services.

Following the declaration of the NR policy, over 50,000 of our compatriots have returned home so far.

A series of measures have been adopted by the state for their return.

In the border areas, guest houses or peace townships have been set up for them.

Material aid, including cash money, food-stuffs and essential goods is rendered to them.

They are helped in being transferred to their hometowns and in finding employment as well.

Most of the problems pertaining to the properties of the repatriates have been settled from the legal point of view.

The Department for Repatriates have been established within the framework of the Council of Ministers.

Receiving repatriates is a responsible task which raises quite a number of socio-economic problems in the state policy.

Existing in this connection. We should realize that in paying attention to the returnees, the

authority and prestige of the party, the state and the people of Afghanistan are also involved. Effective measures have been taken by the Council of Ministers to receive the returnees.

Q: If some houses have been destroyed in the villages, where will the returnees live?

A: Actually, the work begins from the country. They are welcomed as relatives and necessary assistance is rendered to them. Concerning the shelter problem, the local people have taken the initiative to assist them in rehabilitating their houses by launching collective voluntary work. The local organs of state power and administration also supply them with constructional materials, including cement, construction wood as well as transportation means.

Q: Would the residential houses or productive institutions of the repatriates which are under state control be returned to them?

A: Yes, a special decree of the Revolutionary Council of the DRA has been issued in this regard.

Q: What assistance would be rendered to those repatriates who have neither home nor job before leaving the country?

A: After returning home they can avail themselves of all the gains of the April Revolution, including the right to work on the basis of their area of specialization and education, figures out to 35,000 Afs. for each person annually. The State has allocated 2.5 billion Afs for this end during the current year.

MEASURES TOWARDS LOOKING AFTER THE FAMILIES OF MARTYRS OF REVOLUTION.

The party and Government take care of these families and all those suffered from the undeclared war. The pension rights and distribution of apartments according to turn is only part of their privileges. As a whole today 75,000 people receive pension rights, which on the average figures out to 35,000 Afs. for each person annually. The State has allocated 2.5 billion Afs for this end during the current year.

The orphaned and families of the martyrs of Revolution have received coupons. Annually, the State gives 1.5 billion Afs subsidy for coupon goods.

Presently, the Government works out subsequent measures for the better maintenance of the families of martyrs of revolution and handicapped of the undeclared war. In the meantime, those who are suffering from the existing defects. Our comrades who lay stress on the existing defects in meeting this important socio-political question are right. All the criticism related to positive and registered way of documents for attaining privileges was studied by us soon.

Certainly, the registration of concerned documents should be simplified, and their evaluation take place without any delay both in the capital and localities.

The issue of salaries and pension rights of workers also relates to the above questions. The constant growth of people's material and cultural life constitute the major objective of the socio-economic policy of the party and Government.

National income of the country is the economic backbone and the sole resource for improving the people's material and cultural welfare. But the more the national income is strengthened, the more possibilities are provided for the people's well-being. The national income grows only when we are more and better. Because our economic policy is about all, aimed to averting the negative consequences of the undeclared war, for speeding up the growth rate of the national income.

We could not only stabilise this rate, but achieved a definite edge over the pre-revolution level. In 1986, the national income growth rate was over 1965 was 4 per cent, and now we have reached the 1978 level in all spheres of industrial production.

The post-revolutionary measures have been constantly put into action for elevating the level of people's life. The salaries of workers, state employees and teachers have been increased, the price of chemical fertiliser supplied by State has been reduced by 40 per cent, the purchase price of cotton and sugar-beet has been raised three times, the allocations for the development of education, medical services and building residential houses have been constantly on the rise.

It is envisaged in the main aspects of the country's socio-economic growth for 1986-90 that in future, the salaries of various categories of workers and state employees will be increased by 50 per cent. This system of distribution of essential goods through coupons shall be expanded.

The organisation of supply of workers and employees in State institutions and organisations will be improved considerably.

The subsequent growth of trade in a bid to ensure the public from the viewpoint of essential commodities has also been foreseen. The exchange of state goods for essential goods, co-operative and private sectors will get an increase of six per cent during the current year, as compared to preceding one.

Supply of essential goods to fellow citizens will meet the needs of the inhabitants of some of the

provinces. The factor latent in this is the harsh shifts stemming from the undeclared war and, frankly speaking, some of our compatriots have won without necessary responsibility to this end.

Meeting the people's needs from the viewpoint of essential goods is a matter of political importance. We would seriously scrutinize the officials in charge for the irresponsible approach to its settlement.

Another important aspect to ensure the people's life is to control the market prices of essential goods.

After the Revolution, we have faced the price rise, particularly the price of foodstuffs. Among numerous other factors culminating to such a state of affairs, the major one is the undeclared war. But despite all this, the State adopts all possible measures to monitor and control the prices.

For instance, in State-run stores, important items of foodstuffs such as bread, flour, sugar, edible oil, etc., are sold at fixed prices.

Questions arise why the salary raise in the labour sector has fallen behind the price growth from the viewpoint of its rate. And whether we can increase the salaries proportionate to the price increase. Under present conditions, the increase of salaries proportionate to price rise brings about adverse results. The point is, now the growth rate of prices exceeds that of social production. If we do not pay the salaries in accordance with the growth of work productivity, the price rise will be speedier.

Anyway, the Government has adopted all possible measures to prevent the price rise.

Q: It is proposed that the employees of the border districts of the country should be paid his better salaries.

A: Abiding by the resolution of the Council of Ministers, the excess salary would be paid stage by stage during the current year to workers, employees of productive institutions and State organisations for their work under important regions and climatic conditions.

The State surplus expenses only for this end will figure out annually to almost 700 million in Afghanistan. This way 500 Afs will be the average monthly increase in the salary of every employee.

It is proposed that deep wells be dug, roads and power stations built on the earliest, teachers and doctors of the State sent to provinces.

In the DRA Socio-Economic Growth Plan for 1987, an allocation of 1.5 billion Afs has been made for tackling the socio-economic problems in the provinces, including digging of deep wells, building hospitals, schools and residential houses.

The young doctors and medical staff pass their military service with full salary in localities.

Similarly, measures will be taken to send experts to rural areas from among the graduates of educational institutions of the DRA, and those who return home after completing their education in higher educational institutions abroad.

Q: Comrades say that numerous rumours and slanders are, time and again, spread among the people about the change in the government.

Some people do engage themselves in imaginary cabinet making.

What could be said in this regard? Our enemies and opponents not only resort to such flights of fancy but they also keep themselves busy with the formation of provinces and other governments.

In its part, the Western mass media too brazenly spread these rumours and false information and slander.

The change and transfer of Cabinet members, which occasionally happens on the basis of our needs, is not a new thing. Not at the end of the questions raised in last month's sessions by the party members.

I took part in four party sessions. For the three sessions we were in the PDPA Central and Jo-yous meetings with our party comrades in arms. It is rightly said that all of us have become more decisively powerful to our own sessions. It is a matter of pleasure for me that every leader reports to the party, organisation as well as the people. What we heard and saw there is really a matter of happiness that our party has grown to this extent and has been turned into a militant, powerful and combatant one.

Such a party cannot deliver our people from the tentacles of war and place them on the path of peace and progress. In all these days I think of the fact how anyone of us should devote himself to the tasks the Central Committee and the Politburo, headed by Comrade Najib, have set before us.

As for as the Council of Ministers is concerned, we should be actively engaged to improve the work method of every ministry and department so that all State ministries and institutions increase their share in realisation of the policy of National Reconstruction.

Thank you for your attention!

# CHRONOLOGY

4/15 - BIA - DRA Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil left for Havana to take part in the Group of 77 Foreign Ministers' meeting. While there he will sign the first DRA-Cuba agreement on economic, scientific & technological cooperation.

- The USSR & the DRA signed a transportation protocol for 1987. More ships will be used to transport commodities between Termez & Hairatan & Shirkhan. Two million tons of goods will be shipped to Afghanistan this year.

4/16 - BIA - 5,243 youth are getting a medical education in Afghanistan.

- The DRA has spent Afs.296m for material aid for returning Afghans; the public has donated Afs. 7½m for the same purpose.

4/17 - Afghan News (Jamiat) III,10 - Soviet-DRA troops attacked mujahideen in the Sholgar district of Balkh. In the fighting a mujahideen hospital was destroyed & many civilians were injured, but the invaders retreated after 3 days.  
- LA Times - The Pakistan air force shot down a DRA plane north of Miranshah killing all 40 passengers aboard. It was the second DRA plane shot down in Pakistan territory in 4 weeks.

4/18 - BIA - Raisin & dried fruit exports earned \$129m for the DRA last year.

- "Afghan Women & Development" was the title of the first 5-day women's seminar in Kabul.

- Sarwar Yurish has been named the new president of BIA.

- The DRA & USSR Chambers of Commerce signed an agreement for economic & commercial expansion for 1987-88. Mongolia will provide gratis aid (consumer goods & cadre training) to the DRA.

4/19 - LA Times - Mujahideen crossed the Pyandez River, a tributary of the Amu Darya, 80 miles south of Dushanbe, & attacked a Soviet border post on 4/9, according to Tass. The Tass statement was the first Soviet acknowledgement of mujahideen claims that they have infiltrated into Soviet territory.

- BIA - The USSR will provide 30m rubles worth of assistance to the DRA in the fields of public health, education, mass media development, etc.; a credit of 50m

rubles to establish private sector productive units; assistance in other projects ranging from leather factories to Russian language teachers.

- Najib told a conference of nat'l entrepreneurs that DRA per capita income was \$155-160.

4/20 - BIA - On 4/8 "criminals" trained in Pakistan set fire to Panj city in the USSR killing & injuring a number of Soviet citizens. Border posts of the USSR were attacked by Hezb-e-Islami members on 4/8 & 4/9.

- Pakistan denied entry to DRA delegates to an int'l Pushtu conference in Peshawar.

"Though the scientific & literary circles of the DRA have not got a chance to take part in the conference..., work of the conference will have a magnificent effect on the growth of Pushtu language & literature."

4/20 - Forbes - Comment from Malcolm Forbes:

## **RETURNING KING KHAN TO THE TOP OF AFGHANISTAN**

could end Russia's bloody occupation and remove a major running sore that seriously drains relationships between East and West. This solution to that intractable confrontation has made real progress in secret negotiations between Moscow and Washington, with that irrepressible maestro, Armand Hammer, playing an important behind-scenes role.

He told me the other day—in between his unending flights between the principals—that the plan is on both the U.S. and U.S.S.R.'s front burners. The king, deposed in 1973, has enough stature to form a neutral government (à la Finland and Austria) that the Kremlin could trust and that Afghans could accept. If this peace plan flies, 3 million refugees in Pakistan could return to their country and the U.S. could cease sending multimillions in weapons and aid to Afghan anti-Red fighters.

If Moscow can get out with a neutral Afghanistan, Soviet soldiers would be gone as quickly as they could pack up.

For Washington, restoration of Afghan independence would be a sorely welcomed affirmation that the U.S. has a foreign policy that sometimes visibly succeeds.

4/21 - BIA - The DRA accused the Pakistan CID, abetted by the CIA, of organizing a conspiracy to assassinate Najib & to make it appear that the killing was the result of factional differences in the PDPA. The DRA security forces are prepared to foil these plans.

4/22 - LA Times - The Soviets have launched military operations to wipe out settlements in northern Afghanistan, particularly Kunduz & Takhar, in retaliation for mujahideen attacks in the USSR.

- BIA - Over 80,000 job opportunities await returnees to the DRA. So far 54 repatriates have been "introduced to the productive, commercial & social institutions of the DRA."  
- A central blood bank was inaugurated in Kabul. It was built with Soviet aid plus Afs. 180m from the DRA budget.

4/23 - BIA - The DRA captured a Stinger & other weapons in the Shakardara district of Kabul Province.

4/24 - PT - An Afghan religious scholar, Maulavi Jamilur Rehman, said in an interview that if former king Zahir Shah was thrust on Afghanistan, his fate would be worse than that of Babrak & Najib. Rehman claimed that the foundations for Soviet aggression were laid during Zahir's regime as he had provided opportunities for the Russians to enter Afghanistan. Rehman said that the Afghan masses did not want even to hear Zahir's name.

4/26 - BIA - Bakhtar Airlines received the 2 TU-154M passenger planes it purchased from the USSR.

- DRA Foreign Minister Abdul Wakil, still in Cuba, met with Fidel Castro.

4/27 - PT - The Soviets have stationed 8,000 troops in Kabul to enforce strict security during the Saur Revolution anniversary celebrations.

- An election of Hizb-e-Islami officers was completed in 20 Afghan provinces; elections in Kunduz, Takhar, Baghlan, Samangan, Jauzjan, Balkh & Faryab will be held next month.

- BIA - DRA & Vietnam journalists signed a protocol for cooperation & news exchange for 1987-91.

Najib met with the Foreign Minister of Czechoslovakia to discuss matters of mutual interest.

4/29 - LA Times - Pakistan has asked to lease American radar surveillance aircraft - either AWACS or Hawkeyes:

The Administration official said that it would cost Pakistan less to lease the planes than to buy them. Under a lease, American crews would man the aircraft, keeping them far enough away from the

border to avoid combat. A lease arrangement also might be less threatening to India because Washington could provide assurances that the planes would be operated only on the Afghanistan border.

4/29 - BIA - Commerce between the DRA & Czechoslovakia reached \$90m last year.  
- Najib: "It is better to sit around a table of talks for a hundred times than to come across to a threshold of war & dispute."

- Manchester (CT) Herald - Jack Anderson reports that the mujahideen are lucky if they receive even 40% of the covert funds the CIA & the Saudis send them (see 5/11 & p. 9). The CIA claims an 80% delivery rate but there is no CIA official in Peshawar to check:

**Pakistani officials insisted that they would allow closer CIA contact with the mujaheddin, particularly to check on the arms supply line. But they said the CIA has never taken them up on this offer.**

**IN FACT, OUR sources said that CIA officials in Islamabad, the Pakistani capital, are forbidden by their superiors to ask the mujaheddin about arms deliveries. The only existing direct contact between the CIA and the mujaheddin fighters in Pakistan is through former Army personnel hired by the CIA to train the Afghans in the use of American Stinger anti-aircraft missiles.**

5/1 - PT - Soviet KGB head Victor Chevrof visited the Soviet-Afghan border to check security following mujahideen attacks in the area.

5/2 - BIA - The DRA protested to Iran over an attack on 4/23 on the DRA Embassy in Tehran by "an armed terroristic group."

- The DRA has asked the UN Sec'y Gen'l to persuade Pakistan & Iran to allow DRA delegations to visit refugees in these countries. (See 5/10 & 5/28)

- NYT - The DRA said it shot down a Pakistani F-16 jet fighter near Khost.

Pakistani authorities said the incident occurred 4/29 when 2 Pakistani jets intercepted 6 DRA aircraft violating Pakistani air space. The jet was shot down over Miram Shah; the pilot bailed out & landed uninjured in Pakistan.

5/3 - BIA - The 8th meeting of the joint Afghan-Indian economic commission began in Kabul.



Los Angeles Times

5/4 - PT - In the past 4 months mujahideen claim to have downed 177 DRA & Soviet planes & helicopters, killed or injured over 9,000 troops & captured 2,035, including 3 Soviet pilots. 2,132 Afghan soldiers & officers have joined the mujahideen. There has been fierce fighting in Herat the past few weeks & the Shehr-i-Nau area of Herat city reportedly has been reduced to rubble.

- NYT - The China Press Agency reported that Babrak Karmal was arrested & imprisoned in Pul-i-Charkhi jail after having been under house arrest "for some time." The order for his arrest came from the RC.

- BIA - "Babrak Karmal, member of the PDPA CC left Kabul for the USSR at the invitation & advice of physicians." Prior to his departure Babrak met with Najib & other Politburo members. He was seen off at the airport by Saleh Moh'd Zerai, Noor Ahmad Noor, Mahmoud Baryalai, Pavel Muzhaev (Soviet Ambassador to the DRA) & others.

5/5 - Afghan News (Jamiat) III, 10. -

Younus Khalis, → leader of Hezb-e-Islami, was elected spokesman of the Islamic Alliance. The term of the spokesman was extended from 3 to 6 months.

- BIA - The RC Presidium has approved concession & exemptions on tax arrears on residences, water, telephone bills & bank interest for Afghans who return home. - The RC & the DRA Writers Union described the death of Khalilullah Khalili (see 5/14) as a great loss & have sent condolence messages to cultural institutions & to Khalili's family.



5/6 - LA Times - Soviet air force pilots were reported to have bombed a DRA military post accidentally on 4/20, killing about 100 soldiers.

- NYT - On defections in Herat, Steven Weisman reported:

In Herat, officials said a major success had been achieved because two important field commanders of one of the main guerrilla groups had defected since the beginning of the year, bringing 2,500 men with them.

Guerrilla leaders said in Pakistan recently that they doubted that these leaders were important or that they had been followed by more than a few men. In any case, they added, many guerrilla leaders defect to the Government only to rejoin the insurgency's forces later on.

The American reporters asked repeatedly to interview the two former guerrilla leaders in Herat, Syed Ahmad and Abdul Ghani Timuri, both attached to the Islamic Peoples group. But officials said they were in the field and not available.

(See pp. 11, 12 & 16 for further reports from Herat.)

5/7 - BIA - A flood in the Cha-Aab district in Takhar destroyed 200 houses, 1,000 animals & 500 hectares of farm land. "The current Afghan year is rather a rainy one as compared with previous years as a result of which the mountains & its folds are full of snow & there is sufficient water for agriculture."

- Afghan News (Jamiat) III, 10 - Members of the Islamic Alliance met with French Foreign Minister Jean Bernard Raimond in Pakistan to discuss the Afghan situation. [The DRA protested to the French charge in Kabul.]

5/8 - PT - France will provide 6,000 tons of wheat for Afghan refugees in Pakistan. - The Geneva talks will not be resumed this month. The failure of the DRA's "reconciliation" program was reported to be one cause of the "dillydallying." (See 5/20)

- Gulbuddin Hekmatyar proposed that the Russians should leave in a limited time frame; Soviet forces should return to their main bases - Shindand, Begram, etc., & begin their withdrawal from those points; an interim gov't, acceptable to the mujahideen should be formed to supervise the withdrawal; &..."all military officers who have joined their nation should be given appropriate posts & their ranks restored." When these conditions are fulfilled the mujahideen would prepare to announce a "state of waiting" - not a cease fire. The mujahideen will keep their military bases until the Soviets have left, the interim gov't relieved & the Afghans have the right of self-determination without outside influence.

-- A car bomb went off in Kabul's central bazaar yesterday. There was some speculation that it was set off by Babrak supporters. No injuries were reported.

- Construction has begun on underground hangars for planes at Herat & Kandahar airports to protect them from mujahideen attacks.

- Najib reportedly told Kabul Univ. students that ex-king Zahir Shah might return to Afghanistan.



5/9 - BIA - In the last Afghan year 112 "mobile sanitary teams" provided health services to 26,600 people in Balkh Province; 120 foreign films were "translated" into Dari & Pushtu. A dispatch from Delhi says that India supports the DRA's nat'l reconciliation program & is launching a support campaign titled "US & Pakistan, Hands Off Afghanistan." Sultan Ali Keshtmand inaugurated the Press Center of the DRA Union of Journalists.

- Kayhan Int'l - Sources predict that this year the mujahideen will launch the fiercest offensives of the 8-year-old war. Mujahideen leaders said significant numbers of Soviet & DRA troops are being deployed to outposts in frontier areas in an intensified effort to intercept incoming guerrilla units.

5/10 - PT - The DRA wants to send a delegation to visit refugee camps in Pakistan (see 5/2) to draw up "concrete & constructive proposals" for the refugees to return home. India reports that the DRA is willing to extend its "cease fire" for 6 more months.

5/11 - BIA - The DRA & Bulgaria signed a protocol to increase trade. The Higher Education Committees of the DRA & the USSR signed an agreement whereby the Soviets will give the DRA 7m rubles to equip technical schools & to build new vocational schools. A center for small handicraft has been set up in Kabul to help private entrepreneurs & to find jobs for returning expatriates.

- LA Times - Mujahideen elections:

**Afghan rebels** plan to hold elections in Afghanistan and among exiles to choose a council that will draft an Islamic constitution and pick a leader of an interim government for Afghanistan after a Soviet withdrawal. Yunis Khalis, spokesman for a divided alliance of seven Pakistan-based rebel groups, said in Islamabad, Pakistan, that the election will take about six months to organize. He said the council is to include 270 representatives elected by guerrillas in Afghanistan and 50 approved by Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran.

- PT - A group of foreign journalists, members of a tour organized by Moscow, were told to leave Afghanistan 48 hours early. They were told they were lucky to have been

allowed to visit Khost. The tour, the 3rd in the past 8 months, was originally delayed for a week before being allowed into Afghanistan. (See pr. 11-22)

- Mujahideen attacked Khad headquarters in Kandahar on the night of 4/27, when Saur Revolution anniversary celebrations were in full swing, and razed a major part of the building.

- Manchester (CT) Herald - Jack Anderson reported that Saudi Arabia's secret matching-funds agreement with the CIA on military aid to the mujahideen had strings attached. Much of the \$1.56b Saudi aid has gone to Saudi-favored guerrilla groups. Reportedly the Saudi contribution has matched US Congressional appropriations \$ for \$. In addition individual Saudis have given millions to their pet guerrilla leaders. The Saudi's favorites are the more conservative groups - those least favorable to the West. Sayyaf's group has received 20% of the CIA-Saudi aid even though it has only 2% of the total mujahideen strength. Anderson also claims that the secret Swiss bank account - which contained over \$10m from Iran arms sales profits - was a CIA account containing \$500m intended for the Afghan mujahideen.

5/12 - PT - A Pakistan Press reporter says "An int'l plot is being hatched to impose Zahir Shah, the former Afghan monarch, in Afghanistan, but this time as head of a communist-dominated gov't. Contact with the ex-king was initiated by the Soviets & supported by Western gov'ts, most actively the United Kingdom."

5/13 - Hartford Courant - Constant fighting has been reported around Kabul. The Soviets fired flares as a precaution against heat-seeking anti aircraft missiles & a falling flare started a grass fire on the US Embassy grounds nearly igniting fuel tanks at the neighboring Turkish Embassy.

- NYT - Western diplomats say that 3 bombings in Kabul this month may have been inspired by Babrak's removal to Moscow.

Despite Mr. Najib's apparently firm control, diplomats say there has been evidence for months of discontent about the sidelining of Mr. Karmal, who has long enjoyed support among the party rank and file.

Diplomats said strains in the Kabul Government appeared to be caused by disagreement over party patronage and how much to reach out to non-party groups for political support.

Western diplomats today say that there is evidence that Mr. Karmal and Mr. Najib lead separate sub-factions within the Parcham group, but that divisions had also arisen within the Khalq group when Mr. Najib released several of its members from prison in a recent bid for their support.

5/14 - BIA - The DRA claims that ca. 50,000 Afghans have returned home since the policy of nat'l reconciliation.

- PT - In a BBC interview, Zahir Shah said that if the Afghan people invited him he would be ready to return home. He said civil war would not break out after the Soviet troops withdrawal but that the future Afghan Gov't would cooperate with the USSR with a guarantee of non-interference.

- An Ittehad-i-Islami spokesman said the Soviets have "wasted" 80% of the forests of Afghanistan in the past 7 years & that they had launched a plan to clear the forests in the border provinces.

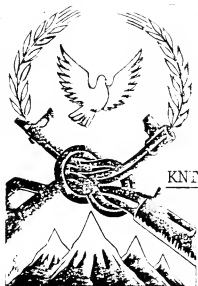
- NYT - Khalilullah Khalili died on 5/4: Khalilullah Khalili, an Afghan poet and diplomat who had been living in exile since 1979, died on May 4 in Islamabad, Pakistan. He was 79 years old.

Mr. Khalili was a poet of international reputation, and many of his works were translated into English. He was the author of more than 50 works, including histories.

After the Communist takeover in Afghanistan, he became known as the poet of the Afghan resistance with the publication of his collection, "Blood and Tears." His last volume of poetry, "Nights of Exile," was published several months ago in Pakistan.

Mr. Khalili was born in Kabul. He was a professor of history and literature at Kabul University until 1949, when he became Minister of Information and Culture. He served in Parliament and in 1963 became a diplomat, serving abroad. He resigned after Soviet troops entered Afghanistan in 1979.

He spent several years in the United States, returning to Pakistan last year.



5/17 - BIA - An int'l Koran reading contest will be held in Kabul the last 10 days of Ramadan.

- Soviet Trade Minister Aristov & DRA Trade Minister Sayed Amanuddin Amin met in Kabul to discuss expanding trade relations including the opening of an Afghan handicraft store in Moscow.

- The Nangarhar Provincial Committee for Nat'l Reconciliation has set up 3 Peace Zones in the province where "armed opposing elements can meet their relatives a day in a week."

5/18 - The USSR & the DRA signed an agreement to improve commercial, technical & economic cooperation between the 2 countries.

- Najib was one of the participants in a mourning ceremony for 13 Spinjar Construction Enterprise workers who were "martyred by extremists" on 5/14.

5/20 - UN Press Release - On the Geneva talks Diego Cordovez said that efforts for a political solution were moving on 2 tracks - the Geneva process & discussion & debate among the Afghans themselves. He said that a diplomatic discussion could resolve all the problems but that the debate had forced the Afghans to "face the reality of a proximate settlement." "You cannot postpone a round of talks which has not been scheduled," he said. When he had suggested in March that the parties meet in May he had not realized that it would be Ramadan. He said he felt the time frame could be settled but that now the debate among the Afghans was "of the essence." Afghans, now faced with the reality of a settlement, must talk among themselves.



- LA Times - Mujahideen shot down 3 helicopters near Kabul in early May. On 5/9 a mujahideen attack on Qarabagh provoked heavy Soviet reprisals on the town causing heavy civilian casualties.

5/21 - NYT - Gorbachev hinted that ex-king Zahir Shah might be acceptable to the Soviets as part of a coalition gov't in Afghanistan after a Soviet withdrawal.

In the interview with L'Unità<sup>+</sup> conducted Monday and published here today, Mr. Gorbachev said the Soviet Union would not insist on continued political influence over the Afghan government as a condition for withdrawing its 115,000 troops.

+ an Italian communist paper

He said the coalition government Mr. \* Moscow

5/15 - PT - A time-bomb exploded in a bus in Peshawar yesterday killing 7 & injuring 46, many of whom were Afghan refugees.

5/17 - PT - Babrak Karmal reportedly was trying to escape to Pakistan when he was arrested in early May in front of the Chinese Embassy in Kabul. Khad got wind of his scheme. (See 5/4 & FORUM XV, 1, p.8, 12/2.)

Najib has proposed as part of his "national reconciliation program" could be neutral and could embrace "most diverse political forces."

"The Soviet Union does not and will not interfere in matters of where Afghan comrades will seek partners for the realization of the national reconciliation program: in their own country, among refugees and emigrants abroad, or maybe in your own country, Italy," the Soviet leader said.

A Western diplomat questioned today whether the King would have much popular appeal now.

"He was not regarded as terribly effective," the diplomat said. "But people have to group around somebody, and when you talk about national leaders, there's really nobody else alive."

Mr. Gorbachev did not indicate how much power the King or other new "partners" would wield in a coalition. His remarks also did not address other deeply divisive questions about a future government, including the role to be played by the Afghan Communist Party and Mr. Najib.

5/24 - PT - The USSR yielded to a UN request to investigate the human rights situation in Afghanistan & voted to extend the mandate of UN special rapporteur Felix Ermacora for a year.

- Younus Khalis said that the mujahideen are ready to negotiate directly with the Soviets but that 3rd parties would not be acceptable in the discussions.

- Gorbachev rejected as "profoundly erroneous" the suggestion that Moscow would always wish to see Afghanistan in its "sphere of influence."

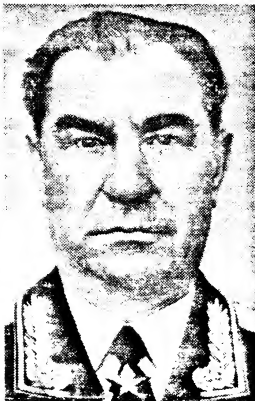
5/28 - PT - Pakistan rejected the DRA proposal to send a team to visit Afghan refugees (see 5/2 & 5/10). However, Pakistan said it would give full cooperation to the UN in ascertaining if any of the refugees wished to return home.

5/29 - PT - Western diplomats said that Najib wanted to do away with Babrak but Moscow wouldn't let him. They think Najib will soon make cabinet changes in order to strengthen his regime.

5/31 - NYT - The USSR ousted Defense Minister Sergei Sokolov & Air Defense Minister Aleksandr Koldunov. Sokolov was replaced by Dmitri Yazov who was commander of the Soviet Central Asian Military District in the early 1980s "which suggests he may have played some role in the Soviet military intervention in Afghanistan." Sokolov was identified by the US as the military commander in charge of the Soviet entry into Kabul.



Sergei L. Sokolov



Dmitri T. Yazov

Pass via Associated Press

6/2 - PT - Mujahideen repelled a large-scale Soviet/DRA air & ground offensive in the Jaji region of Paktia. Prof. Sayyaf commanded the battle which lasted from 4/26-31. Sayyaf said it was the most severe battle this year with the most massive high altitude bombing by the Soviets. (See 6/3)

6/3 - PT - Soviets dropped commandos into Jaji hoping to capture Prof. Sayyaf.

6/12 - NYT - Pres. Reagan in a press conference after the Venice meetings:

So too, it's absolutely essential that we continue to seek progress from the Soviets in the human rights area, as well as regional conflicts, especially Afghanistan. As we said in our statement, the new expressions of openness from the Soviets are welcomed but it's time to see if their actions are as forthcoming.

[We heard on the radio that the leaders meeting in Venice called for a withdrawal of Soviet troops from Afghanistan but we did not see any statement to that effect in print. Ed.]

- NYT - Kabul Radio reported that guerrillas firing Stinger missiles shot down an Afghan passenger plane on 6/11. All 53 passengers & crew of the Antonov-26 were killed. The plane was flying from Qalat to Kabul & was hit above Shahjui.



The New York Times/June 12, 1987

The WASHINGTON POST reported that more Stingers are going to Afghanistan. Our article came from the 4/5 HARTFORD COURANT.

**WASHINGTON** — The Reagan administration is sending seven anti-communist Afghan rebel groups about 600 sophisticated Stinger anti-aircraft missiles, including some copies of a more accurate later model, administration and other sources familiar with the program say.

The sudden increase in deployment of Stingers to a large number of Afghan rebel groups, and the looser procedures now reportedly governing who gets them, is raising renewed concern among some congressmen and those involved in the program that the weapon will fall into the hands of Iran or terrorists in the Middle East linked to Tehran.

Sen. Dennis DeConcini, D-Ariz., said in an interview earlier this week that he has received a classified report from the General Accounting Office on the safeguards attached to Stingers being sent or sold abroad.

The senator said he is not opposed to arming the Afghan rebels with Stingers, but is worried about "keeping them from the black market."

Army Chief of Staff Gen. John A. Wickham Jr. and lawmakers such as DeConcini have expressed concern in the past that Stingers might find their way onto the black market and into the hands of terrorists who might seek to use the sophisticated weapon, with its 3-mile range, to shoot down a civilian airliner.

Afghanistan and Pakistan are well known for their thriving and uncontrolled arms bazaars.

One source familiar with the U.S. Stinger training program for the rebels said the initial procedures for assuring tight control no longer are being followed with the same rigor. In addition, so many Stingers are arriving in Pakistan that there is a problem of storing the weapons safely, he said.

The source said that when the program began late last summer, each four-man rebel unit, after a six- to eight-week training course, was given just one launcher and one missile at a time. Before another missile was released, the unit had to return and show it still had the launcher.

Now, he said, more than one missile is being handed out at a time and the Stinger sometimes is being given to groups that have not had sufficient training.

Another worrisome problem, he said, is that the Stinger will fall into the hands of pro-Iranian rebel

groups that might turn it over to terrorists. This danger has increased, he said, because the United States is handing out the weapon to all seven factions in the U.S.-backed Afghan Alliance, and because Iran is infiltrating the factions.

Booyed by the initial success of the Afghan rebels in shooting down Afghan and Soviet aircraft, the Reagan administration has adopted a new strategy of arming all the U.S.-supported groups with the Stinger in a bid to increase pressure on the Soviet Union to withdraw its 115,000 troops, Pentagon sources say.

Jack Anderson reported in the MANCHESTER (CT) HERALD on 4/27 that the CIA botched it:

**WASHINGTON** — Afghan freedom fighters used up their modest supply of American Stinger anti-aircraft missiles more than three months ago and have received no replacements, despite reports to the contrary. This has seriously crippled their fight against the Soviet invaders of their country.

That's not all. The anti-Soviet mujaheddin were drastically shorted on the Stingers and launchers they did get: only 100 missiles instead of 150, and only 28 launchers instead of 50. The CIA simply didn't deliver what Congress apparently ordered it to.

The Stinger scandal is one of several indications that the CIA is botching — perhaps deliberately — its biggest covert assistance program since the Vietnam War. We were alerted by sources within the agency who claim that millions of dollars in Afghan military aid has been wasted or misused. We began an investigation, including a trip by Dele Van Atta to the Afghan-Pakistani border.

From sources in Washington and in Peshawar (the Pakistani city that is headquarters for most of the mujaheddin units), we learned that the CIA has bungled the secret supply line to a mind-boggling degree. The agency's mismanagement is particularly mystifying in light of the broad bipartisan support for the Afghan guerrillas both in Congress and the country at large.

For years after the Soviet invasion in December 1979, the Afghan guerrillas begged the United States for an anti-aircraft weapon that could shoot down or scare away the Soviet warplanes and helicopter gunships that were devastating their fighting units and the villages that supported them.

The CIA grudgingly produced some Soviet SA7s, short-range surface-to-air missiles of dubious reliability. The agency compounded the ineffectiveness of the weapons by issuing precise, wrongheaded orders for their use: One or more rebels hiding near Soviet-run airports are supposed to stand up and fire when a plane takes off.

The mujaheddin were dismayed at this tactic. Not only was it almost certainly suicidal, but it missed the whole point of their request for anti-aircraft missiles. The Afghans wanted the weapons to protect their supply convoys and

friendly villages from Soviet strafing attacks.

But as one intelligence source put it, the CIA "had a boxscore mentality. Just like the body-count mentality in Vietnam." No airport attacks, no missiles.

When the Afghans complained that the SA7s were no good, their CIA suppliers disagreed, pointing out that the Viet Cong had used them with devastating effects in Vietnam. The mujaheddin tried to explain the crucial terrain difference: In Vietnam, the guerrillas could hide in heavily canopied jungles until American helicopters were hovering practically overhead. They couldn't miss.

But there are no protective jungles in Afghanistan. The guerrillas must take what cover they can in gullies on the barren hillsides some distance from their targets.

Determined congressional friends of the mujaheddin finally overcame the resistance of the CIA and Pentagon officials who "didn't want their fancy toys going to some ragheads," as one source put it, and forced the shipment of Stingers in the spring of 1986.

For a while the mujaheddin used the Stingers with great effectiveness, achieving a 60 percent kill ratio.

The Soviets radically changed their air operations in eastern Afghanistan — and last December closed their airfield at Jalalabad, between Kabul and the Khyber Pass. But then, in the first week of January, the supply of Stingers stopped — and the mujaheddin ran out the missiles a week later. The Soviets quickly realized what had happened, and reopened the Jalalabad airfield, capable of handling 300 or more aircraft.

The CIA still insisted on its airport attach policy — they assigned 10 launchers each to use against the Kabul and Bagram airfields, and eight to the Jalalabad airfield.

But from the same source on May 4:

Occasionally, the Central Intelligence Agency does something right. At least that's our edict on their ultra-secret program to counterfeit millions of dollars in Afghan money.

The CIA has been churning out the counterfeit "afghanis" — as the denomination is known in Soviet-occupied Afghanistan — for several years. It began with the acquisition of an excellent set of plates that produces bills without blemish.

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#### ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB	- Afghan Information Center <u>Monthly Bulletin</u>
ANSJ	- <u>Asian Wall Street Journal</u>
BIA	- <u>Bakhtar Information Agency</u>
CC	- <u>Central Committee</u>
CSM	- <u>Christian Science Monitor</u>
DRA	- <u>Democratic Republic of Afghanistan</u>
DYOA	- <u>Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan</u>
FEER	- <u>Far Eastern Economic Review</u>
FRG	- <u>Federal Republic of Germany</u>
IHT	- <u>International Herald Tribune</u>
KNT	- <u>Kabul New Times</u>
NFF	- <u>National Fatherland Front</u>
NWFP	- <u>Northwest Frontier Province</u>
NYT	- <u>New York Times</u>
NYCT	- <u>New York City Tribune</u>
PDPA	- <u>People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan</u>
PSFO	- <u>Peace, Solidarity &amp; Friendship Organization</u>
PT	- <u>Pakistan Times</u>
RC	- <u>Revolutionary Council</u>
RTV	- <u>Refugee Tent Village</u>
SCMP	- <u>South China Morning Post</u>
UNGA	- <u>United Nations General Assembly</u>
UNHCR	- <u>United Nations High Commission for Refugees</u>
WDOA	- <u>Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan</u>
WSJ	- <u>Wall Street Journal</u>

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the  
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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